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Thebes in the Fifth Century

Heracles Resurgent

Nancy Demand



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Thebes in the Fifth Century

In the fifth century BC Thebes, faced with the challenges presented by defeat and disgrace in the Persian Wars – it had sided with the invaders – succeeded not only in regaining its former prominence, but also in laying the groundwork for its hegemony of Greece in the early part of the fourth century.

In *Thebes in the Fifth Century*, first published in 1982, Nancy Demand examines the political and military history of this renowned city, as well as a number of other aspects of Theban culture and society: its physical layout, religious cults, poetry and music, arts, crafts and philosophy.

Other topics of special interest include a chapter on Pythagoreanism in Thebes, an appendix on the evidence for the participation of women in Pythagoreanism, and an investigation, extending throughout the book, of the role of women in Theban society.

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Heracles Resurgent

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Preface

This book began as a doctoral dissertation, *Boeotian Thebes in the Fifth Century* (Bryn Mawr College, 1978). To my former supervisor, Professor Mabel Lang, I am principally indebted for its conception and early form. Professor Richard Hamilton also advised me, especially on the material about the poets, and made many helpful suggestions. The present book represents both a change in orientation and a considerable expansion of the material of the dissertation. Professors W. R. Connor, B. S. Ridgway, G. Pinney, and R. F. Willetts have read the manuscript, or portions of it, and made suggestions and comments which have led to these changes. Needless to say, they are not to be held responsible for the results, which are mine alone.

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1 Introduction

The fifth century in ancient Greece is familiar to us mostly through the great works of Athenian culture: the tragedies of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides; the comedies of Aristophanes; the fine Athenian vases; the Parthenon; the intellectual revolution brought about by the Sophists and Socrates; the historical works of Herodotus and Thucydides. Even Sparta, the city-state most often considered when our gaze lifts from Athens, usually is viewed as a unique and idiosyncratic opponent of Athenian virtue, rather than as one instance in a spectrum of widely varying Greek political and cultural forms. With material on Athens sufficient for more than a lifetime of enjoyment and study, and faced with the relative obscurity of the sources for other Greek cities, it is perhaps no wonder that we fall into the fallacy of equating ancient Greece with fifth-century Athens. But Greece was not only Athens, nor was all Greece, excluding Sparta, a 'cradle of democracy'. A multitude of city-states existed, in Greece itself, in Asia Minor, in southern Italy and Sicily, and on the Black Sea, all with widely varying cultures and political systems, and all just as much a part of Greek civilization as was the city of Athens.

Many of these other city-states had an oligarchic rather than a democratic form of government, and centered their lives upon the land and agriculture, as did the city of Thebes in Boeotia. While Thebes was no more representative of that non-existent entity, the typical Greek city-state of the classical period, than was Athens, nevertheless, as an agriculturally based, almost wholly self-sufficient oligarchy, it provides an interesting contrast to the naval-based democracy of Athens, with its dependence on external trade connections. The two cities perhaps represent the two poles of Greek experience, even though both were more powerful and more significant historically than most other Greek cities. In addition to its existence

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as an oligarchic agricultural society, Thebes' place in Greek history, as the power which would finally, in the early fourth century, bring an end to Spartan military supremacy in Greece, gives us good reason to look closely at this particular city-state. And as we look, one question is predominant: How was it that Thebes developed the resources necessary to challenge Sparta with such overwhelming success?

The fifth century in Thebes was an interim period, of the sort not usually focused upon by traditional histories. Its story is that of a society which was rebuilding itself after having been defeated both materially and spiritually in the Persian Wars - having been cast into the category of traitor by its neighbors. In contrast, and to put the Theban achievement into better perspective, we may consider Athens, which had also suffered grievously from a material point of view in the wars against the Persian invaders. For Athens, the astounding fact of victory was the stimulant which lightened the rebuilding process. Pride in Marathon, the folklore of heroes, sparked an almost unbounded optimism which carried the Athenian people not only to recovery but beyond that to empire, daring enterprise, and repeated recoveries from apparent disaster throughout almost the entire Peloponnesian War. In contrast, the Theban task after the Persian Wars was to rebuild while bearing the mark of traitorous medism, to repair and recover from both physical destruction and loss of reputation and influence.

That the Thebans considered this task as Herculean may be suggested by the mid-fifth-century coinage which Thebes issued as it finally regained the hegemony over its Boeotian neighbors. In creating their coins, Greek states usually utilized meaningful symbols: perhaps an ear of corn to indicate the importance of grain for an agricultural community such as Metapontum or a dolphin or a representation of harbor shape for sea-faring cities, or a canting device which made an allusion, perhaps punning, to the name of the city, or an image of the most honored god in the city's cults. In the case of Thebes, the device was traditionally a Boeotian shield, a symbol shared by the cities of the Boeotian league and representing both the league and Boeotian military prowess. In the mid fifth century, however, the city issued a series of coins featuring Heracles on the reverse. (1) The hero is portrayed in a variety of action poses: advancing into combat, stringing a bow, triumphantly carrying off the Delphic tripod after a victory, strangling the serpent as an infant. These coins depicting the labors of Heracles seem especially appropri-

3 Chapter 1

ate to evoke the labors which Thebes itself had recently undergone, and to reflect the continuing determination of the Thebans, a determination which was to lead to further gains during the Peloponnesian War and to the eventual broadening of its power beyond the borders of Boeotia, and, in the fourth century, to all of Greece. Moreover, the hero was himself an appropriate favorite for the Thebans in another sense as well. He too had erred (even if in madness), and had to carry out labors in recompense for his mistake (his slavery to Omphale, in recompense for the killing of his sons). Perhaps it is also not irrelevant that most of his labors, including the most famous series, resulted from the unjust jealousy and persecution of Hera. Thus Thebes, too, labored, paying for a mistake which it did not consider really its own (Heracles acted in madness; Thebes came to see itself as betrayed by a small group of unrepresentative men), and suffering under the burden of unjust jealousy and persecution (of all the medizing cities, the onus seems to have fallen most heavily on Thebes, placed there in large part by the jealousy of Athens). (2)

The qualities which made possible the recovery of Thebes cannot be understood simply by recounting the political and military moves which the Thebans made in the course of this recovery. The reasons why one city, or one individual, laboriously climbs up from the abyss of failure, while another passively succumbs, must be sought in personality and character, rather than in outward actions alone. A corollary of this, that even the stereotypical image of a city, the distorted reflection of its personality in the eyes of others, exerts a powerful influence upon actions and events, was recognized by the Athenians in the fifth century. For Pindar, the old Attic reproach of 'Boeotian pig' was still one worthy of lament. (3) He was right, for it was not overcome even by his own superb poetic abilities. Later in the century, Aristophanes' version of the stereotype was the dumb Theban of the 'Acharnians', who is conned by the sharper-witted Athenian into exchanging his valuable eels for a sycophant packaged as an Athenian vase. (4) Alcibiades as a child, rejecting the flute which prevented conversation, was reported to have relegated it to the Thebans, on the grounds that they could not talk anyway. (5) Even the Theban hero Heracles appears to have undergone a metamorphosis during the Peloponnesian War as Athens grew more anxious about Theban power, becoming the gluttonous and buffoonish character of the 'Alcestis' and 'Frogs'. (6)

Recognizing with the Athenians the importance of image,

we must try to understand Thebes' fifth-century accomplishments in the light of a more accurate picture of its true character, being especially concerned to correct the image where it has been distorted. An initial jolt to the Athenian picture of Thebes is provided by the presence of two Thebans as Socrates' interlocutors in the 'Phaedo' of Plato. It will be worth while to look more closely at this apparent anomaly - philosophical Thebans - as well as at other aspects of Theban culture. The city's poetry, its crafts and its cults, all offer potential sources for a clearer understanding of the spirit which was the basis for its achievements.

The focus of this book will thus extend beyond the usual material of political history to a broader consideration of the cultural and intellectual life of the city. (7) We shall examine a wide range of somewhat disparate material, including poetry, pottery, grave stelai, and philosophical dialogues. From this material, we will attempt to draw a coherent picture of Theban society in the fifth century.

Working with this range of evidence, and attempting to construct a picture of a society and to add depth to our understanding of its history, is much like working on a jigsaw puzzle: the hope is that the individual pieces, which in themselves portray nothing recognizable, may, when arranged together properly, reveal a coherent picture. There are, of course, certain problems inherent in this approach which must be mentioned at the outset. First of all, there are many gaps in the available evidence, which may distort the resultant picture, or even prevent it from appearing. For instance, the physical city of the fifth century is mostly buried beneath the living city and has not been subjected to systematic excavation (excavation has been understandably directed mainly toward the Mycenaean remains, as well as being in the nature of rescue operations). Literary evidence is also fragmentary: for instance, the loss of most of the 'partheneia' of Pindar undoubtedly deprives us of much information about Theban prosopography and cults, and the life of Theban women. Still another problem is one signalled by a defect in the analogy of the jigsaw puzzle. This is the degree of imaginative interpretation necessary, and the inevitably speculative nature of the results when one goes beyond collecting the data and tries to make a coherent picture out of it. Unlike the jigsaw puzzle, in this enterprise an exact fit does not guarantee that the piece really belongs where it has been put, nor is there a picture on the box to verify these placements. The problem is inevitable if one chooses to synthesize; the

question, then, is whether to synthesize. Given the greatly increased significance and interest which the material attains through being part of such a picture, it seems worth while to run the risk that the picture may be superseded by a more accurate one when (and if) more evidence is obtained, especially since those who reject the synthesis may still consider the data in and for themselves.

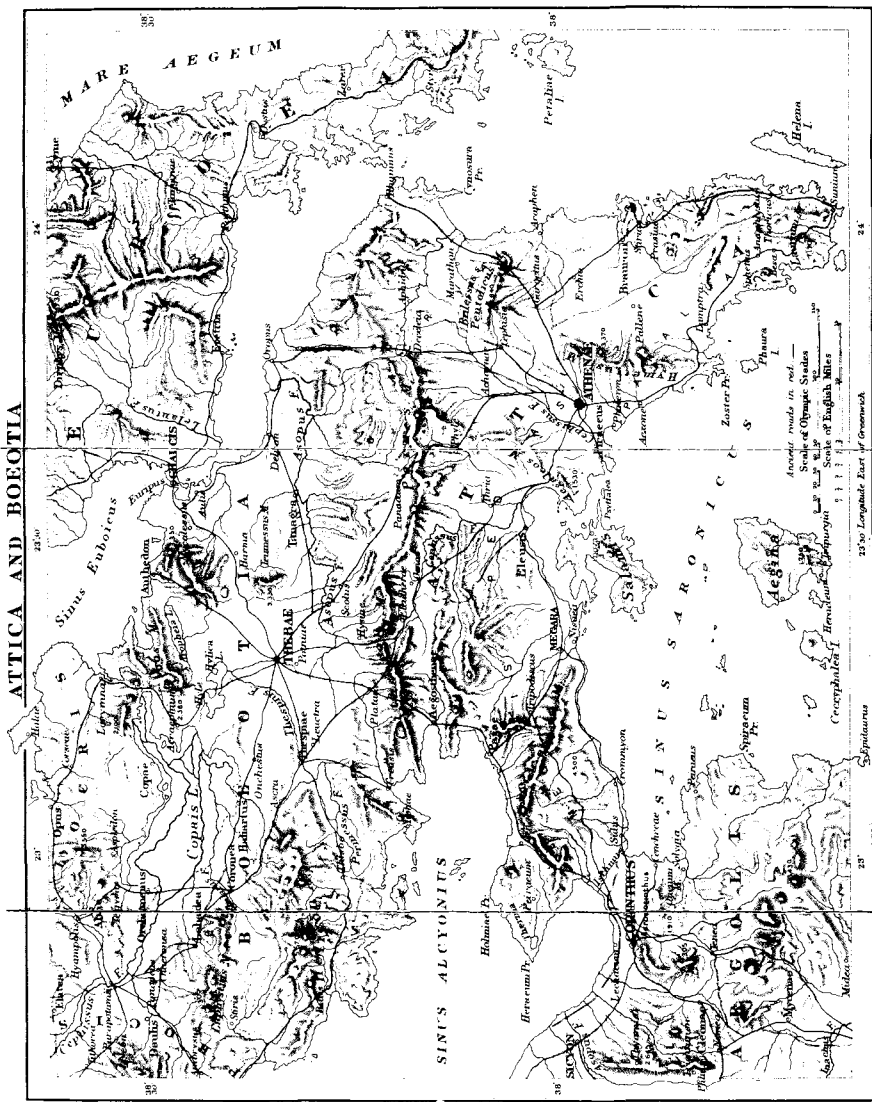


Fig.1 Map of Boeotia, with road system, from H.G. Dakyns, Works of Xenophon, vol.1, courtesy Macmillan.

2 The city

It used to be believed that geography was destiny. This is certainly true at least as far as the basic orientation of a society is concerned: an inland city in an out of the way place, poorly located for defense, will not develop into a powerful sea - or even land - power. As is now well recognized, however, geography is not an inevitable determinant. Many other factors come into play, and not least of these what one might call the psychological aspects of character: even the best-located city may fail to develop its full potential because of poor leadership, poor choices, lack of a will to act, and may squander its inherent advantages (or, as it is sometimes put, it may pursue other values). In the case of Thebes, geographical location and the nature of the land almost inevitably made the city into an agriculturally based society, while its excellent strategic location provided the promise of wider domination, a promise which the Thebans constantly worked to bring to fruition. These close ties between the city's situation and character will repay a closer look at the very beginning of our investigation of fifth-century Thebes.

Thebes is located well inland in central Boeotia, on a low ridge of hills which separates the rich plains to the north from the rolling but fertile land of the upper Asopus basin to the south. (1) It thus commands fertile farming land to both the north and the south. On all sides the eastern Boeotian plain, in which the city is centrally situated, is bounded by hills or mountains: on the north, by Mt Hypatus and Ptoön, with its spur, Sphinx Mountain (and by the lakes Iliki and Paralimni); to the west, by the hills connecting Ptoön and Helicon; to the east, by the Dritsa ridge; and to the south by Mt Cithaeron and Pastra. The land enclosed in this ring of mountains and hills is naturally isolated from its

neighbors beyond and lacks easy access to the sea. The land far exceeded in ancient times what could be farmed by the citizens of any one city, and a number of mostly self-sufficient Boeotian communities shared in its bounty. Perhaps because of their common Boeotian tribal origins, and their individual self-sufficiency, none had ever fallen into the subordinate position of *perioikioi*, or 'dwellers round about', as had Sparta's near neighbors (although the smaller cities seem constantly to have been on guard against the ambitions of Thebes), nor had the earliest Boeotian settlers made helots of those whom they encountered already settled upon the land, as had Sparta with other of her neighbors. Furthermore, unlike Attica, Boeotia as a whole never submitted to a *synoikism*, or a political unification with a central capital; rather, the cities eventually developed their early tribal and religious ties and relationships into a federal league while retaining their own individual character and independence.

The city of Thebes itself centers around a low hill or acropolis, called the Kadmeia, which is part of the low ridge of hills which runs east-west from the hill of Soros (ancient Teumessus) to the foot of Mt Helicon. It is not the highest of these hills, but it is the best watered spot in the ridge, being surrounded by springs and streams, from which water was carried to the Kadmeia by underground water channel. (2) The Kadmeia itself is pear shaped, about 750 yards long and half that in width, and about 200 feet in elevation at the southern end and 150 at the northern. (3)

Although the Kadmeian hill is not high, its defensive capabilities are enhanced by the presence on the west of the stream of the Dirke and on the east by the gully called the 'Hollow Way'. The natural defensive features of the site had been augmented in Mycenaean times by the walling of the Kadmeia; the famous Seven Gates of Thebes were situated in this wall, probably at the points of natural access. (4) Late in the sixth century, the lower walls were added, (5) signalling both the growth of the city and the conflicts in which it was involved in the consolidation of its hegemony in this period. A large area was enclosed, extending well beyond the rivers Dirke and Ismenos to deep defensible gullies to the east and west. The new walls gave protection to the homes of the Thebans, (6) who no longer lived on the Kadmeia: that ancient citadel was now given over to the ancient shrines of Theban history and cult, and to official buildings. (7)

The outer walls survived the Persian Wars and withstood

the twenty-day siege of the Greeks bent on punishing the medism of the city. (8) At the beginning of the Peloponnesian War they attracted the inhabitants of smaller unwallled towns (Skolos, Erythrae, Skaphae, Aulis, Schoinos, Potniae, and others), who moved into the city, doubling its population. (9) During the course of the fifth century other Boeotian cities lost their walls, sometimes thanks to Thebes. Tanagra's wall was destroyed in 457 by the Athenians, just before the Spartans helped the Thebans to increase their own walls. (10) Plataea's wall was destroyed by the Thebans after its surrender in 427 (Thuc. 3.68), and Thespieae's was destroyed by Thebes in 423 (Thuc. 4.133). It is also possible that the walls of Orchomenos suffered damage in the earthquake of 426 (Thuc. 3.87). As these walls fell and Theban walls were improved, the relative power of the Seven-Gated city grew among its Boeotian neighbors.

The flatness of the plain north of Thebes lent itself well to the use of cavalry, and the relatively easy access through the mountains to the north early forced upon Thebes the development of this type of warfare, since the city was subject to the incursions of Thessalian cavalry forces by this route. Aristotle pointed out the political implications of such a situation:

When the country is adapted for cavalry, then a strong oligarchy is likely to be established. For the security of the inhabitants depends upon a force of this sort, and only rich men can afford to keep horses. (Aristotle, 'Pol.' 1321a9-12, tr. Jowett)

The Theban oligarchy was relatively stable - for Greece, one might say that it was exceptionally stable. There is little to suggest the sort of internal conflict, or stasis, which often led the citizens of other Greek cities to conspire with outsiders. It may be the case that Athens gained control of the city in 457 through the exploitation of stasis, although there is no real evidence for this, aside from the unlikelihood that they could have gained control of the strongly fortified city otherwise, without a major siege. After the fact, an extreme faction was credited with forcing a policy of medism upon the city during the Persian Wars; and following the Peloponnesian War (and possibly for a considerable time earlier) there was political division between pro- and anti-Lacedaemonian parties, which may have more or less paralyzed effective action in either direction, but which did not go so far as conspiracy with outsiders. (11) This amounts to very little evidence for stasis in comparison with the active factionalism which dominated the politics of so many Greek cities in the fifth century. The only real threat to

Theban political stability in the fifth century very likely occurred during the period of Athenian domination of Boeotia, when Athens probably supported its own sympathizers for positions of political importance in the city. The law, reported by Aristotle, (12) which limited the holding of office to those who had not sold in the agora for ten years may have been passed in order to remove political power from such 'new men' after the expulsion of the Athenians.

The reason for the unusual political stability of Thebes was undoubtedly its economic stability. The economy of Thebes was predominantly agricultural, and the agricultural production was abundant. That Thebans ate well was the essence of the Theban stereotype fostered by its less well-endowed neighbors and epitomized in the charge, 'Boeotian pig'. (13) In the fifth century, this agricultural bounty was used primarily for home consumption. Some Boeotian delicacies did find their way to the Athenian gourmet, (14) but the provision of eels and wild birds and game to the Athenian market was probably only a casual and occasional occupation. Some Theban chariots may have been made for export, (15) and a few pieces of Theban pottery turn up here and there, although these were probably carried by casual travellers, and not by traders. Reed mats, wicks and flutes are other possibilities as minor items of trade, (16) but on the whole fifth-century Thebes was not actively involved in trade on a scale which affected its fundamental outlook on life or its basic social structure. There apparently was an abundance of food for all, and thus little need to look elsewhere.

Much has been written on both sides of the question of the suitability for trade of the geographical situation of Thebes. (17) The city's inland location led to considerable skepticism about its potential as a trading site; it seems clear now, however, that the geographical difficulties have at times been overstated. (18) Although its geographical situation did not push Thebes in the direction of trade, it obviously was not an unsurmountable obstacle. Hence the explanation for the lack of activity on the part of fifth-century Thebans in trade must lie elsewhere. Relative abundance of food supply, combined with the predominance of well-to-do landed families within the political and social structure, offers the best explanation. It was not the case that wealthy Thebans were adverse to travelling: some of them must have travelled much of the time in order to participate in as many games and contests as they did. (19) It was, rather, that the wealthy (the major candidates for travel) disdained travel for trade, with a sure instinct for the inevitable social and political changes that extensive

trade would bring about. Hesiod, although only a first-generation Boeotian and seemingly not a wealthy man (although certainly not a poor man), offers a good example of the Boeotian attitude toward sailing and trade: if his brother is so foolish as to want to gain a quick profit by trade, Hesiod can offer him the traditional lore about seamanship, passed down through the poet's craft, but he himself wants as little as possible to do with boats, sailing, or trade (he stresses that his only sea voyage was for the proper aristocratic purpose of participating in a contest at funeral games for a king). (20)

Not only the Boeotians, but landed aristocrats everywhere in Greece, saw the ideal life as one of self-sufficient farming. Even in Athens, where the sea became the first line of supply and defense in the fifth-century, and where the resulting richness of life was clearly apparent, strong opposition to naval and trading interests continued to thrive among conservatives (whose actions may not have matched their words in every case) throughout the fifth century. (21)

Although Thebes enjoyed a position of self-sufficiency in its economy, and evidently felt no economic or political need to go beyond the borders of Boeotia, within the Boeotian sphere the situation was entirely different. The first impression which one receives on looking at a map of ancient Boeotia is that Thebes was the center of a network of roads radiating outward in all directions. This central location and the ease of movement within Boeotia itself created by this ancient road network (basically an enhancement of natural routes) were vital factors in continually fostering Theban ambitions for hegemony among the Boeotian cities. The central location gave the advantage of protection against unexpected attack by outsiders, and it also made it possible for Thebes to give swift aid to the other Boeotian cities against both external and internal threats. The ability to offer protection was a major factor in attracting the allegiance of smaller cities (as Herodotus makes clear in his account of the origins of Plataea's alliance with Athens, Hdt. 6.108). (22) That Thebes exploited this potential and often played the role of protector and champion was demonstrated several times during the Peloponnesian War. In 426 the Thebans went to the assistance of the Tanagrans when they were attacked by Athens (Thuc. 3.91); in 414 they moved to suppress a democratic uprising in Thespieae (Thuc. 6.95); and in 413 they drove off the Thracians who had attacked and massacred the inhabitants of Mycalessos, recovering the plunder and killing at least some of the

attackers (Thuc. 7.29). Each time Thebes succeeded in protecting or avenging its neighbors, its value as an ally was enhanced. Neither of Thebes' potential rivals for Boeotian ascendancy could boast a similar central position and potential: Orchomenos was virtually a border city, and Tanagra lacked the central position within an extensive road network which Thebes possessed.

The fifth-century city of Thebes in its physical makeup was rather typical of classical Greek cities. The city centered upon an ancient walled acropolis, whose defensive functions had been shifted to new outer walls, and which now served as a ceremonial center, given up to shrines, especially those reflecting the earliest traditions of the city. Thus the Kadmeia contained the ruins of the old Mycenaean palace, interpreted as the 'House of Kadmos', the shrines and temples of Aphrodite, Demeter Thesmophoria, Zeus Ammon, Zeus Hypsistos, and the bird observatory of Teiresias the prophet. Certain important governmental functions also kept their home on the Kadmeia; thus we find that the Theban Council met on the Kadmeia (much as the Council of the Areopagus at Athens met on the Areopagus rock adjacent to the Acropolis). (23)

The residential quarters in the fifth-century were located in the lower city, which today also is primarily residential. The population appears to have been dispersed throughout the area encompassed by the outer walls, even spilling out into the unwalled area to the south (which may have been the location of the Spartan-assisted effort to extend the lower walls in 457). (24) The archaeological finds give no signs of large concentrations of people, and some clusters of burials suggest individual family cemeteries, probably located on ancestral plots. (25) This fits in well with evidence from other sources: the ability of Thebes to sustain a doubled population after the influx of refugees during the Peloponnesian War also suggests thinly dispersed homesteads, (26) while Herodotus 9.41 implies that the area within the outer walls was also used for cultivation early in the century.

In the midst of these residential areas (as well as on the Kadmeia, in the agora, and associated with the gymnasia) were numerous shrines, temples, and holy spots mostly dedicated to local deities and heroes. (27) On the east side of the lower city stood the temple of Dionysos, the House of Lykos, the memorial of Semele, the stone of Alkmene, and the tombs of Melanippos, Tydaeus, Hector, Asphodikos, and the children of Oedipus. On the west side of the lower city were located the temples of Themis, the Muses, and Zeus Agoraios, as well as numerous other shrines and holy spots, including the spring of

Dirke. It was in this western area that Pindar lived, near the shrine of the Mother of the Gods. The small hill to the north of the Kadmeia was considered to be the tomb of the founders, Amphion and Zethos. Outside the lower walls there were many more holy spots, as well as two major shrines: to the south, the temple of Heracles with its stadium and gymnasium, and to the southeast, the temple of Apollo Ismenos.

Two major institutions of a classical Greek city - its agora and its gymnasium - were located on the east side of the lower city (a second gymnasium, that of Heracles, was outside the walls to the south). It is these institutions which reveal most clearly the differences between classical and modern culture, and for this reason, perhaps it will be useful to consider them in a comparative context. (28)

The ancient Greek agora was a large open space which served as a meeting place, market place, and civic center. It was physically defined by its stoas, offering shelter and shade, temples, and other civic buildings, and adorned with statues and shrines. The Theban agora contained the shrines of Artemis Eukleia, Apollo Rescuer, Athena Girder, and Hermes Agoraios (Paus. 9.17.2-3). (29) After the battle of Delion, the city of Thebes celebrated by adding a great new stoa to its agora, embellishing it with bronze statues and with the spoils of victory (Diod. 12.70). In the agora men could while away their time, engage in conversations ranging from gossip to philosophical discussion, learn the news, eat a snack, shop, pay reverence to a favorite deity, carry on the business of the city, all in surroundings which intermingled civic, religious, and commercial elements.

What is it that fulfils the function of the agora in Thebes today? As in many small Greek towns, it is the coffee-house, with adjoining street. A recent 'New York Times' article, speaking of the coffee-house as an endangered species, called it 'a den of male chauvinism, political debate and petty gambling.... It is at the village kafeneion that patrons would debate their problems, listen to an announcement by the mayor or receive the civil servant sent from Athens. For the illiterate, it would be the place where newspapers could be read aloud or a television provided before sets became common household property'. (30) While serving many of the same purposes as the agora, unlike the agora, the coffee-house is a small, private, and confined space. It is true that it opens out into the public street, but the modern street is mainly a passageway through commercial establishments, for the convenience of vehicles first and foremost. The

street does provide pedestrians with a way to move from one shop or business appointment to another, but it does not offer shelter or inviting spaces for relaxation and conversation, as did the agora. In the evenings, however, especially on the weekend, the Thebans turn their main street into a promenade, and then it serves, in some manner, one of the functions of the ancient agora. Both the coffee-house and the street are, however, basically commercial; neither offers the aesthetic interests, nor the civic and religious aspects, which were the major components of the ancient agora. Neither defines a comfortable space, with shade and shelter, open to all.

A second basic institution of the classical Greek city was the gymnasium and its complex of related spaces and buildings. Thebes had two gymnasia, that of Iolaos, within the walls of the lower city (probably dating from before these walls), and that of Heracles, outside the walls to the south. The ancient gymnasium offered males of all ages a place to gather and talk while enjoying exercise and bathing. It also served important educational functions, both informally and formally. On the informal level, it was a place where youths and adults naturally mingled with each other in sports, offering ample opportunity for the formation of those pederastic friendships by which boys were initiated into the values of the adult culture (traditionally, such lovers took vows at the altar of Iolaos, whose friendship with Heracles provided a role model for young Thebans). (31) On the formal level, gymnasia and their adjacent grounds were used for military training and drill, and teachers offered lectures within the gymnasium colonnades. We can imagine Plato's Pythagorean Thebans learning their philosophy in such a setting. All this took place in pleasant, green surroundings, offering fresh water and shade (only in Hellenistic times did Greek gymnasia move into the city center and lose their rural attributes).

In Thebes today, nothing seems to have replaced the gymnasium as a place of exercise (the city has a modern stadium, which offers spectators the chance to watch others exercise). In larger cities, there are of course private clubs and YMCAs and YWCAs. Some of the educational functions have been taken over by the secondary school - although such schools segregate the age groups rather than integrating them. For military training, there is the army, which again separates and segregates a certain age group from the general society.

This comparison between the ancient city, with its agora and gymnasia, and the modern city, highlights some of the values of Greek civilization which have long been praised

by modern cities. It is true that in many ways life must have been pleasanter for Theban males in the fifth century than it is today, and that real human needs were perhaps better met, for this group at least. But we should not forget a factor which has in fact often been overlooked: these advantages were extended only to males and not to their female counterparts. Women did not enjoy the benefits of the agora or the gymnasium - and, since they were the caretakers of the home, they also suffered more than did men from the inconveniences in domestic arrangements which existed.

In summary, the fifth-century city of Thebes was centrally located within the fertile plains of Boeotia, in a position of natural strength which was enhanced by notable walls. Its agriculturally based economy provided ample supplies of food for its people, and it engaged in little trade. In its inland position and isolated self-sufficiency it could have served as a prototype of the oligarchic ideal, as expressed by Plato in the 'Laws' (704Bff.). Plato's city would be set inland also - the presence of good harbors eighty stadia away is distressing to Plato, but at least there is some protective distance:

Had it to be on the coast, well furnished with harbors and ill off for many of its necessities, not productive of all, we should need a mighty protector and lawgivers who were more than men to prevent the development of much refined vice.... ('Laws', 704D, tr. A.E. Taylor)

(Fortunately, Plato's site also lacked pine and cypress, the materials of boat building, a further protection against the contamination of commerce. Today Thebes is not possessed of such assets either, and probably was not in antiquity either.) The internal government of Thebes was indeed an oligarchy, which was joined to its Boeotian neighbors in a loose federation, over which it continually sought to extend its control. Its public buildings and institutions (agora, gymnasia, shrines, and temples) were those of a typical Greek city.

Nothing in this brief background sketch, however, reveals the unique characteristics of the city. To see these, and to appreciate its personality and the use it made of its physical assets, we need to consider in detail its history and its cults, its music and the products of its craftsmen.

3 Theban political and military history during the fifth century

THEBAN POLITICAL STRUCTURE

The political structure of Thebes was oligarchic, requiring a property qualification for full citizenship. We have some evidence for a fairly broadly based oligarchy in the late fifth century in a speech of the Thebans at Plataea as reported by Thucydides. In this speech, the Thebans argue that the city itself was not responsible for its medism, since it was in the hands of a small clique of men at the time, and did not enjoy its usual isonomic oligarchy:

Our city happened then to be neither an oligarchy giving equal rights before the law (an 'oligarchia isonomos'), nor a democracy; it was rather what is farthest from law and moderation, a small group of men holding control of affairs (a 'dynasteia'). (Thuc. 3.62)

Isonomia was a political principle implying equality of political rights for full citizens. (2) In Thebes, it seems most probable that property sufficient to qualify one as a hoplite warrior was the minimum required also to qualify as a full citizen. (3) This meant that about one third of the total number of male citizens enjoyed the benefits of full citizenship, which included eligibility for office; whether those who failed to meet the property qualification had the right to vote for the election of their officials is not known. (4) Any full citizen was, however, eligible for membership in one of the four councils, each of which acted in turn as the executive body, preparing matters which would be discussed by all four councils (all four councils had to approve before any action could be taken). (5) Isonomia refers then to the equal opportunity of every full citizen to be a member of a council and thus to participate in official decision-making, as well as to serve in office if elected.

As an oligarchic state, Thebes was one among a large group of Greek states which had varying forms of oligarchic constitution; some of the others were Corinth, Megara (after 424), Elis, Chios, Lesbos, Opuntian Locri, Epizephyrian Locri, Croton, Rhegium, Acragas, Colophon, Cyme, Massalia, and Epidauros. States of course sometimes changed their constitutions, going from democratic to oligarchic, or vice versa; often this occurred as the result of changes in political loyalties, as when states which allied themselves - or were conquered by - democratic Athens themselves became democracies (as Thebes itself was to do once for a short period when under Athenian domination). Such changes and developments in constitution and political form as occurred in Thebes can, however, best be viewed in the context of a consideration of the political and military history of the city.

EARLY HISTORY AND THE ORIGINS OF THE BOEOTIAN LEAGUE

Thebes was among the palace sites of Mycenaean Greece, a city whose past is reflected in the ivories, seals, linear B inscriptions and jewelry of the museum in Thebes, as well as in the mythological traditions which were given new life in the plays of the Athenian tragedians. We do not know what befell the city during the collapse of Mycenaean civilization and in the dark period which followed, but the insignificance of Thebes in the Homeric 'Catalogue of Ships' suggests that the city underwent a fairly extensive eclipse (Boeotia is, however, well represented in the epic tradition, as well as in the 'Catalogue'). By the sixth century, however, Thebes appears to have become the predominant power in a loose federation of Boeotian cities, and to have also become involved in political maneuverings beyond the borders of Boeotia. (6)

The nature of this early Boeotian federation is by no means clear. The best evidence for the league at any period consists in an account of its form in 395 BC, which is contained in a papyrus fragment of the work of an unknown historian, called by the uninspiring name P. (7) P tells us that in 395 Boeotia was divided into eleven districts according to population. Each of these districts supplied one Boeotarch, 60 Bouleutai for a federal council (which was divided into four sections, as were the councils of the cities, each section taking a turn at acting as Probouloi), (8) and a corps of approximately 1,000 hoplites and 100 horsemen. The citizens of each district were in turn divided into four divisions or councils for local administration, as we have noted in Thebes. Thebes,

Orchomenos (with Hyettos), (9) and Thespieae (with Eutresis and Thisbae) each comprised two districts; Tanagra formed one district; while Haliartos, Lebadea and Coronea formed another, as did Acraephium, Copai and Chaeronea. In 395 Plataea, Scolos, Erythrae, Scaphae, and some unidentified other towns were allotted two districts which were under Theban control.

There is general agreement among scholars that this same constitution, with variations in the assignments of districts, (10) was in effect from about 447 BC. (11) Recently, however, R.J. Buck has claimed that this formal organization went back to the period of the early federation in the sixth century. (12) Before we can evaluate this new theory, however, we should consider the other possible evidence for the early league.

There are passages in both Herodotus and Thucydides which suggest the existence of some sort of league before the fifth century, with Thebes in a predominant position, or at least asserting a claim to such a position. Thus Herodotus reports that in 519 (or 509) the Corinthians assisted the Plataeans against the Thebans when the Plataeans wanted to escape from Boeotian ties; (13) he also tells us that in 507 the Thebans asserted that the peoples closest to them - the men of Tanagra, Coronea, and Thespieae - had always fought on their side (5.79). The problem which exists in evaluating this Herodotean evidence is brought out, however, by the probability that Herodotus in this passage is anachronistic, reflecting conditions in Greece after the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War: it was only at this time that Tanagra could have been said to have been 'closest' to Thebes; before 447, Haliartos would have been among the three closest. Similarly, Herodotus' casual interchanging of the terms 'Boeotian' and 'Theban', and his references to Boeotarchs, appear to be anachronistic reflections of his own times. (14)

Unfortunately, the evidence from Thucydides is no more secure. At 3.61ff. the Thebans are portrayed making the claim that they were the ones who settled the land of Boeotia, founded Plataea, and held early supremacy. This claim, however, occurs in the context of a highly rhetorical speech, and cannot be taken at face value (although it may none the less have had a certain foundation at least in accepted belief, or it would not have been thought persuasive).

Both Herodotus and Thucydides reflect fifth-century views and political positions, and must, therefore, be used with caution. The existence of a 'federal' coinage may seem to offer a firmer foundation. (15) The earliest

such league coinage is Head's Type I: Aeginetic drachmas and smaller divisions issued by Thebes, Haliartos and Tanagra, all bearing the shield of Heracles and now dated 550-525. (16) Head's Type II, which bear the shield and an initial of the issuing or sponsoring city on the mill-sail reverse (Acraephium, Coronea, Haliartos, Mycalessus, Pharae, Tanagra, and Thebes are represented) is now dated 'perhaps well after' 519, because of the absence of coins from Plataea. (17) Unfortunately, we cannot really fathom the significance of these coins: does the shield indicate a formal league, (18) and if so, what are the details of its organization? What does the difference between Type I and Type II signify in terms of league structure (if anything)? Which (if any) is the predominant city, and what does this predominance amount to?

The ancient evidence thus leaves us with an inadequate foundation upon which to construct a picture of the Boeotian league before the fifth century, and the creation of such a picture involves an inevitable resort to many probabilities. This brings us back to Buck's proposal to extend the formal league structure evidenced in 395 back to the sixth century. Arguing that the league was created by a deliberate act of formal constitution in 520/519, perhaps in response to the threat of a Thessalian invasion, Buck relies upon an a priori assumption to project the formal structure of the fourth century back into the sixth: the proportion of 60 councillors to each Boeotarch is odd enough to date back to the beginning of the league, as is the quadripartite division found later in the fifth century, and into the fourth century. (19) This, however, is a matter of probability, and it is just as probable (in fact, as I will argue below, it is more probable) that the oddness of the number 60 and the quadripartite division are marks of sophisticated rather than primitive thinking. Thus Buck's reconstruction fails to be convincing.

Most scholars are in fact agreed in holding the view that the early league was not created by fiat at some definite date, but grew up gradually and naturally from early local, ethnic, and religious ties. (20) According to this view of the league, its various member states held varying statuses according to their own particular situations and relationships at any given time, with Thebes often asserting a claim to ascendancy, an ascendancy which (if it was more than a mere claim), probably amounted at best to a position of first among equals. (21) Since such a league would not have been a formally constituted body with a complex system of representation, but a loose and informal grouping developed out of long-standing ties and relationships determined mainly by the resources and

character of the land itself and by ethnic and religious ties, it would not have been the sort of political grouping which would have been formally dissolved even by such a catastrophe as defeat in the Persian Wars of its principal members. And, in fact, the continued minting of 'federal' coinage (Head's Type III, with coins struck at Tanagra in the name of the Boeotians, dated 480-457) demonstrates that at least some Boeotians did continue to think of themselves as a group with common interests after the war, and that this grouping survived and adapted itself to the temporary eclipse of its natural leader. (22) (This interim period, during which some sort of league apparently continued to exist, is another argument against the theory that the fourth-century structure went back to the sixth century: it seems highly unlikely that an elaborate structure such as characterized this later league could have been preserved intact throughout the period of upheaval in Boeotia following the war, as a looser 'natural' grouping might.)

THE PERSIAN WARS

The problems which Thebes had with Plataea, and possibly with other recalcitrant Boeotian communities, at the end of the sixth century as that city tried to establish its leadership of Boeotia were soon completely overshadowed by the threat and the reality of the Persian invasion in the early fifth century. Thebes' decision to medize had long-range consequences for the city, and therefore it is worth while to consider the period and its events closely.

The decision of Thebes to medize, and the fact of its actual support of the Persian cause, have never been in question, but the timing of the Theban decision, the actual role played by Thebes in various aspects of the war, and the responsibility for the policy of medism, have all been subject to dispute, even in antiquity. A good example of such dispute involves the earliest Theban action connected with the war which is recorded by our sources: the participation of 500 Thebans under the command of Mnemias in the abortive Thessalian expedition of 480. (23) The very existence of this expedition has been called into question by modern scholars, (24) mainly because the reasons given by Herodotus for the abrupt abandonment of a major expedition - that Alexander of Macedon sent word to them about the size of Xerxes' expedition, or (in Herodotus' own judgment) informed them about the existence of other routes south by which Tempe

could be turned - have never seemed adequate or convincing. Yet to believe that the report of an expedition of this size would have been completely fabricated (or even elaborated from a minor mission) as early as Herodotus, who lived within the lifetime of those who would have taken part or known participants, is hardly reasonable. It seems that we must accept the fact of the Thessalian expedition more or less as Herodotus describes it, although we need not accept the reasons he offers for its termination (he himself was apparently not satisfied with the information which he had received on this point, and offers his own hypothesis). (25) As for the participation of 500 Thebans in this expedition, our only source is Plutarch in 'De Herodoti malignitate' 31 (864D). Plutarch does not name his source, but since he gives the name of the commander, he may here have been citing Aristophanes of Boeotia, whom he elsewhere cites (866F) as having used an official list of magistrates. While no other source mentions this contingent, Ephorus does tell us that the Boeotians medized only after the expedition had left Tempe; (26) for the Thebans, with the decision to medize not yet taken, interest in stopping the Persians in Thessaly would have been great. Thus, given the citing of the leader's name, (27) possibly from official records, and the degree to which Theban interests were involved, it seems best to accept the existence of a Theban contingent.

The Theban decision to medize in fact seems to have been made at some time during the turmoil which accompanied the battle of Thermopylae. When the Greek forces were being called out to take a stand at Thermopylae, the Thebans were divided among themselves about participation and sent only a relatively small group of 400 from among the 'opposition party', presumably the party which opposed medism. This, at least, is how Diodorus describes the situation (11.4.7). Herodotus has a somewhat different version (7.205). He says that Leonidas asked the Thebans for troops in order to test them, since accusations of medism had been brought against them. The Thebans sent men, but, Herodotus adds somewhat ominously, they had other things in mind. I think that here we can fairly dismiss Herodotus' insight into the minds of the Thebans as an unwarranted editorial inference. Even the motive attributed to Leonidas in asking Theban help seems questionable; the man did not need a special motive to cause him to ask for troops from Thebes, and in levying his forces he undoubtedly faced the task of convincing many dubious and reluctant people besides those in Thebes. Perhaps the important point is that in this account Herodotus contradicts his later claim that the men were present at Thermopylae as hostages, for

it is part of his story here that they *seemed* to go willingly, keeping to themselves their other thoughts. (Leonidas could have converted them into hostages later when he saw that their hearts were not with him, but why would he have treated them differently from the other Greeks who were also wavering in spirit and whom he sent away (8.220)?) (28)

The Thebans evidently fought until the situation was in fact hopeless. Herodotus portrays with some relish their disgraceful surrender, after they had deserted the Lacedaemonians and Thespians as these took up their suicide stand (8.225). He moralized that even so, the Thebans did not all fare well, for some were killed as they tried to surrender, and some others, including Leontiades, suffered branding with the mark of the Great King. Plutarch questions the branding, on the grounds that it was never mentioned before Herodotus; does he then have access to a fifth-century source earlier than Herodotus? Other later sources available to us also do not mention the branding, or even the presence of the Thebans in the final encounter. Diodorus says nothing about the Thebans being detained for the battle; he reports only that the Thespians remained with the Spartans (11.9.2). Pausanias adds 80 Mycenaeans to the Greek force, but says nothing of the presence of Thebans. (29) Finally, Herodotus' account is thrown into doubt by the report of Plutarch, resting on the evidence of Aristophanes, who had here used the archon lists, and Nicander of Colophon, that the leader of the Theban contingent was not Leontiades but Anaxandros, (30) Perhaps a conjecture would not be out of order here. Herodotus singles out Leontiades not only as the leader but as among those who were branded. The family of Leontiades was one of the most important in Thebes, if we can judge from Thucydides' comment about his son in the later fifth century (2.2); we may, therefore, suppose that Leontiades had been a fairly visible person in Thebes. It is possible that he bore a scar from this battle (in which he was probably too young to hold command), and that this scar was referred to as a mark of the Great King. Such talk could account for Herodotus' assumption that he had led the Theban troops, as well as for the story of the branding.

With the decisive Greek defeat at Thermopylae, the city of Thebes set itself upon a clear path of support for the Persian cause. It is hard to imagine what other path they could choose, short of mass suicide. According to Herodotus, the Thebans offered a conspicuous welcome to the Macedonian commanders as a visible signal to Xerxes of their medism. Did they also bring about the destruction

of Thespieae and Plataea by denouncing these cities to the Persians, as Herodotus says (8.50)? We cannot be sure of the actual role played by the Thebans in this, but the Persians themselves surely already knew of the hostility of these two cities, whose men they had faced at Marathon and at Thermopylae, and there was no need of Theban denunciations to spark the idea of punishment in their minds. It is therefore difficult to accept Herodotus' claim that the Thebans caused these destructions, although we can assume, I think, that few dissenting voices would have been raised, and even that some of the Thebans might not have been above offering encouragement.

After the Persian defeat at Salamis and the departure of Xerxes, the remaining Persian forces under Mardonius withdrew to winter in Thessaly. At this time Mardonius sent out a Carian by the name of Mys to consult the oracles in the Boeotian region, among them the Theban oracles of Amphiarios and the Ismenian Apollo, as well as the oracle of Apollo at Ptoion, which Herodotus tells us was then under Theban control (8.133-5). Mardonius' motive may have been to test the extent to which the pro-Persian sentiments of the Boeotians had survived the Persian defeat and the exodus of the Great King. (Herodotus does not know the information which Mardonius sought, but suggests that it was about the current state of affairs and not about future events.) In the course of these consultations, the oracle of Apollo at Ptoion created a sensation by speaking to Mys in his own Carian tongue, (31) baffling the Thebans. Since, shortly after Mys' return, Mardonius sent Alexander of Macedon as an ambassador to Athens, Herodotus surmises that the message which Ptoion had deliberately concealed from the Thebans had directed Mardonius to seek to gain the alliance of the Athenians. The message could as well have been a gloomy prognosis for the Persian military effort, leading Mardonius to shift to negotiations: Plutarch's version of the consultations included not only the Carian Mys, but also a Lydian who received an unpromising response from the oracle of Amphiarios. (32)

When the attempt at negotiations with the Athenians failed, Mardonius set out again with his army to retake that city, gathering troops as he went. When he reached Thebes, Herodotus reports that the Thebans tried to persuade him to station his forces there, and to abandon the policy of open warfare for subversion of the Greeks by gold, exploiting the political divisions and animosities within the cities (9.3). This suggestion has an anachronistic air about it; (33) one wonders what Herodotus' source could have been, since Mardonius rejected

the idea. There might be some element of truth behind it, however, since Herodotus attributes a similar idea to Artabazos (9.4), and Diodorus (11.28) says that Mardonius actually sent money to men in some Peloponnesian cities, although he does not name Thebes as an instigator. The actual receipt of money by individuals would have been noticed quickly in these small cities, and the accusation passed down in local gossip; Diodorus does here appear to have different sources from Herodotus. Nevertheless, Herodotus says nothing about any such actual subversion, but only reports a rejected suggestion. His account thus looks suspiciously like an attempt to cast aspersions upon the name of Thebes.

Some Thebans probably took part in Mardonius' expedition to Athens, during which he seized the abandoned city and further devastated it. The Persians soon withdrew again to Boeotia, however, having received a message from the Argives that the Lacedaemonians were on the march. When Mardonius reached Theban territory again, he set out to build a fortification for his camp which could also serve as a place of refuge in case of defeat (Hdt. 9.15, 65). To obtain material for this stockade, he cut down the trees, including fruit trees, thus beginning the destruction of Theban property with which the war was to end. Herodotus stresses that Mardonius did this from necessity, and not because of any anti-Persian activities on the part of the Thebans, thus forestalling any danger that his audience might suspect that the Thebans were less than 100 per cent behind the Persian cause. Ironically, in doing this he also focuses attention upon the uneven nature of an alliance between a small city and a great power, and its uncertain value for the weaker party. It is interesting, though perhaps not intentional, that the same point is implicit in the very next section of Herodotus' narrative, in which he recounts the story told him by Thersander of Orchomenos (9.16). This story is interesting for several reasons, but especially in this context because it does so closely echo the idea of the helpless subjection of those living under a despotic power and the price which was paid for the acceptance of Persian overlordship. Thersander's dinner companion, one among 50 Persians invited to this dinner by the Thebans and thus presumably a high ranking figure, foresees the defeat of the Persian army, yet he can do nothing to prevent it: 'Whatever is to come from the god, man cannot prevent, for no one is willing to listen to reason. Knowing full well what will happen, we Persians follow along, bound by necessity. The worst anguish for a man is to know what is going to happen, and yet to be unable to do anything about it'. In

part, the Persian attributes his helplessness to the inevitability of the decrees of the gods, yet in this case, the instrument of that destiny is the leader who is unwilling to listen, which the Persian also realizes. Herodotus makes much of this story, undoubtedly seeing in it some of his own favorite convictions; in particular, it is a form of the Tragic Warner pattern, (34) and foreshadows the more explicit Warner played by Artabazus at 9.41. Herodotus stresses the reliability of Thersander's story by naming his informant twice, and adding the information that Thersander had told the story to others before the battle of Plataea. Thus he emphasizes the importance he lays upon the story as a well-attested instance of precognition (part of the Warner pattern). The story is also interesting for the more pedestrian information which it conveys: for its portrayal of social relations between the Boeotians and the Persians (with the possible moral slur cast upon Thebans who lolled about in eastern luxury while the loyal Greeks fought and died for their freedom), and for the number of high ranking Boeotian collaborators which it attests (although here the numbers are suspiciously round); for its demonstration of Herodotus' loose use of the term 'Theban' (not all the 50 Thebans were in fact from that city - at least one was an Orchomenian); and, finally, for its demonstration that not all the main Boeotian collaborators suffered execution after the war.

The Thebans fought vigorously on the side of the Persians at Plataea, losing 300 men (Hdt. 9.67, 69), but it must not be overlooked that they were in effect fighting on their own territory and for their own survival. It was no longer a matter of sending a representative contingent. In the final rout, the Thebans took refuge within their own walls while most of the Persians sought the protection of their camp and stockade; Artabazus (the Warner) headed toward Phokis and from there escaped to the Hellespont with his men. The Greeks succeeded in breaking into the Persian defenses, and a great slaughter followed.

Once the Persians were disposed of, the Greeks turned to the punishment of the Thebans (Hdt. 9.86-88). They marched upon the city, demanding the surrender of the leaders, and especially those foremost among them, Attiginos and Timagenides. When the Thebans refused, the allied Greeks replied that they would then take the city, and they laid siege and began ravaging the land. On the twentieth day the Theban leaders offered to give themselves up, expecting, as Herodotus says, to be put on trial, and trusting that they would be able to bribe their way out. Herodotus puts the rationale behind the surrender into the mouth of Timagenides, into whose speech he has carefully worked a

refutation of the argument (seen from Thucydides 3.62 to have been current among the Thebans in the later fifth century) that only the leaders, and not the Theban people as a whole, had been responsible for the medizing. An unspecified number of men were delivered up to the Greeks as leaders of the medizing; Pausanias spirited them off to Corinth and an irregular and apparently illegal execution, without benefit of trial. Attaginos somehow had managed to escape, and so his sons were offered in his place, but Pausanias refused to extend the punishment to children who were innocent of the guilt of medizing. This does seem to suggest that the great majority of the Theban adults, who also escaped punishment, were considered in some sense as innocent victims as well, but probably the realities of Greek maneuverings for balance of power provided the real basis for the escape of the ordinary Thebans from destruction or enslavement.

Thus ended Thebes' medizing role in the Persian Wars. The city was left with its defenses intact, its territory cut down and ravaged, an unknown number of its leading citizens dead, probably the best part of its fighting force wiped out, and with a reputation for shameful behavior which was to be more lasting than any of these other disabilities. Since Herodotus' history appears to have been a major factor in perpetuating this reputation, a word about his handling of the Theban role in the war is in order. Plutarch of course long ago charged Herodotus with malice in his 'De Herodotis malignitate'. Although Plutarch was not always himself fair or justified in his charges, (35) yet a certain bias on the part of Herodotus does seem to creep through in those passages in which he imputes the worst possible motives to the Thebans' actions, reads their inner thoughts, or reports private conversations whose content he would have had no way to learn. For instance, prejudice seems inherent in his report of the hidden intentions of the Thebans who went to Thermopylae, and their status as hostages; in his attribution to the Thebans of the suggestion to subvert disaffected Greek factions with gold; in his emphasis on the necessity of the Persian destruction of Theban property; and in his insight into the expectations of the Theban leaders as they gave themselves up to the Greeks. Of course, these need not all be inventions of Herodotus. The Plataeans and Thespians may well have believed in a Theban denunciation, and Pausanias might very well have defended the speedy execution of the Thebans on the grounds that they would otherwise have succeeded in their plans to foil justice. None the less, it does seem to be the case that Herodotus sees these events through

a strong haze of anti-Theban feeling, generated by the Athenian situation in the late fifth century.

479-457 BC: THE POST-WAR PERIOD

Upon its defeat, Thebes disappears almost entirely from the pages of extant history for over twenty years, re-appearing only briefly in 470 when the Thebans restored to Delion a statue which had been stolen by Persian soldiers in 490, and left with the Delians by the Persian Datis on his way home, with orders to restore it to Delion. The Delians had never carried out the orders, and in 470 the Thebans, in response to an oracle, undertook to take it back (Hdt. 6.118). A brief and tantalizing report, this probably should be taken as recording a mythico-political move on the part of the Thebans. Delion is said to be within Theban territory by Herodotus (speaking for his own day), but within Tanagran territory by Pausanias (9.20.1). In this post-war period, the coinage suggests that Tanagra was making a bid for control of the Boeotians. Theban coins from the period are few, (36) suggesting a period of economic slowdown as well as a slackening of Theban predominance in Boeotia. Tanagran coins are more plentiful, and some bear a 'B', 'B-O', or 'B-O-I', which has been interpreted to imply that Tanagra made a counter-claim to Boeotian leadership during the relative eclipse of Thebes. (37) If this was the case, in 470 we may get a glimpse of Thebes trying to whittle away the influence of Tanagra by this service to the people of Delion. (As another possibility, Larsen believes that Orchomenos for a time filled the leadership gap, but there is less evidence for this.) (38)

Another sort of witness to the situation of the city at war's end is found in Pindar's 'Isthmian' 8: (39)

Slipped free of great sorrows,
let us not fall into desolation of garlands;
cherish not your grief; we have ceased from evils
above our strength,
Let us communicate some sweetness even after the
hardship, since from above our heads
some god has turned aside that stone of Tantalus,
a weight Hellas could never dare. But now
the terror has gone by and taken
away the strong brooding in my heart; it is better
always to watch what is close at hand
in everything. A treacherous age hangs over men's heads;
it makes crooked the way of life. But even this can
be healed

in man, with freedom. We must be of good hope. (lines 5-16, tr. Lattimore)

Despite the loss of life, property, and status which befell Thebes as a result of its part in the war, there is in 'Isthmian' 8 a predominant note of relief and hope. The prospect of life after a Persian victory can never have been very bright for most Thebans: living among their fellow Greeks as puppets of the Great King, even in the favored position which collaborators might hope to achieve, may indeed have appeared to be no more appealing than living under the great stone of Tantalus, at least to the majority who nourished no tempting visions of special favor and profits. Once that stone had been lifted away, the Thebans could get back to their old pursuits, to the winning of honors in the games, and to the regaining of their lost predominance among their Boeotian neighbors. No matter that new and formidable difficulties were involved; given freedom to act, and determination, recovery would be only a matter of time.

The poems of Pindar, many of which date from this otherwise poorly documented period and contain apparent historical allusions, are on the whole more frustrating than rewarding as sources for Theban history, despite this valuable glimpse into Pindar's own reactions. In most of the odes, what at first sight appear to be clear references to known historical events dissolve into uncertainty in the light of the disputes of scholars offering widely differing identifications for these events. Two examples will illustrate the elusive quality of this material.

In 'Isthmian' 1 Pindar speaks of the father of the recipient of the poem, a man by the name of Asopodoros, who was welcomed by Orchomenos when he suffered shipwreck, but who is now back home again in Thebes. Was this Asopodoros the Asopodoros who commanded the Theban cavalry at Plataea? The identification, so tempting, has been strongly challenged. (40) Whoever he may have been, depending upon whether we interpret his shipwreck and recovery at Orchomenos literally or metaphorically, we can add to our fund of 'historical knowledge' one of the following:

- 1 the exile or escape of Asopodoros to Orchomenos in the aftermath of the defeat at Plataea, or
- 2 the personal participation of a member of a wealthy Theban family in trade, as well as his earlier stay in Orchomenos while recovering from the financial misfortune of an (actual?) shipwreck, and his family's return to affluent life in Thebes.

Unfortunately, in this as in many cases, we cannot be

certain whether the meaning is literal or metaphorical - scholars have been divided on the question from antiquity (41) - and so we cannot choose between these two interesting alternatives.

Another ode which should throw light on the post-war period is 'Isthmian' 4, composed for Melissus of Thebes, whose victory is said to have reawakened his family's honor after its long sleep following the deaths of four of its members in one battle. Was Melissus' Isthmian victory in 474, and was the battle then Plataea? (42) Or was this an earlier battle, which took place between Thebes and Athens following the expulsion of the Peisistratids? (43) Or is the battle simple unidentifiable? (44) Perhaps the most that can be drawn from this ode, and its accompanying 'Isthmian' 3, is that in the late 470s an aristocratic house has survived the Persian defeat (in which it may not even have been militarily involved, if all male members old enough to participate had been lost earlier), and has enough wealth to commission Pindar. If so, this wealth may be marginal, for 'I'.3, composed for the same Melissus, celebrates a victory in the following year, and its employment of the same meter as 'I'.4 has been attributed to economy, in that it makes possible the use of the chorus already trained for the earlier ode. (45)

'Isthmian' 8, which we considered earlier for its portrayal of the poet's relief at the ending of the war, and which seems to be securely dated to this period, raises the possibility of another type of historical relevance which must be considered. It was composed for Cleandros of Aegina, and it plays upon the relationship of Thebe and Aegina as twin daughters of Asopus. In the context of the poem, this relationship is used to justify a Theban poet in dedicating his song to a son of Aegina. In doing this, was Pindar asserting a purely personal tie between himself and the Aeginetans (one quarter of the epinician odes were written for Aeginetans; the two cities had recently been fighting on opposite sides in the Persian Wars, and some Aeginetans might not approve of Cleandros' choice of a Theban poet to celebrate his victory), or can it be concluded that he also speaks for the city of Thebes as it seeks to re-establish political relationships damaged by the war? The latter view has been suggested; (46) any decision about its validity must, however, be postponed until we consider another major area of Pindar's poetic activity and other examples of such mythological relationships.

Prior to the medism of Thebes, Pindar had received two commissions from Akragas in Sicily. He composed

'Pythian' 12 for the flute player Midas, and 'Pythian' 6 for Xenokrates, brother and colleague of Theron, ruler of Akragas. In 476 the connection was renewed when Pindar received no fewer than five commissions to celebrate Olympic victories won by Hieron of Syracuse, Theron of Akragas, and Hagesidamus of Epizephyrian Lokri, a dependency of Hieron. Thus began a long and fruitful association between the poet and the Sicilian rulers, their friends and dependants. In the fall of 476 the poet left for Sicily, in part to carry out these commissions; he remained until spring, composing other works as well during his stay. On his return to Thebes, he continued to produce works for this western market.

In one of the earliest among the Sicilian odes, 'Olympian' 2, Pindar traces the descent of the family of Theron from Kadmus, thus revealing a mythological kinship between Theron and himself as a Theban, similar to the kinship which he revealed between the Aeginetans and himself in 'Isthmian' 8. Similar links are later asserted for Cyrene and Thebes ('P'.5.73ff.), and for Stymphalus in Arcadia and Thebes ('O'.6.82ff.). (47) Were these links meant only to relate poet and patron, or did they also have implications for Theban foreign policy? Within the Greek tradition, mythology was frequently used for purposes of political persuasion and propaganda; consider, for instance, the Spartan theft of the bones of Orestes from Tegea, related by Herodotus (1.67-8), or the retrieval of the bones of Theseus from Skyros by Cimon, related by Plutarch ('Cimon' 8.5-6). The poet, it would seem, must have been sensitive to the possibility of producing political overtones by the use of mythology - unless, of course, he was employing a poetic convention which was generally understood to be without political significance. That these instances of mythological kinship do in fact fall into the category of poetic convention seems assured when we consider them more closely. While Aegina was a good candidate for Theban political overtures, and it would be most significant to discover that Thebes was carrying out a formal diplomatic campaign in Sicily in the post-war years, what are we to make of Stymphalus in Arcadia? The relationship in this case appears clearly to have been dictated by the accidental fact that Pindar's Syracusan patron also had a home there, and not by any Theban endeavors to cultivate this obscure Arcadian town. Attention to all the instances thus should lead us to the conclusion that these cases of mythological kinship were introduced simply as instances of a poetic convention by which the poet drew attention away from the commercial

relationship between himself and his patron, and sought to elevate the relationship even beyond 'xenia' to kinship. Political implications were not intended, and would not have been read into the passages by the ancient audience.

There is one inference, however, which it does seem safe to draw from the abundance of material composed by Pindar during these post-war years for the western Greek world. That inference is that the Thebans and the western Greeks were by no means unknown to each other. Nor was it only Pindar who had direct contact with the west. Poems and commissions were sent back and forth, and these required messengers. Pindar names some of his own couriers and representatives: Nicasippus took 'Isthmian' 2 to Akragas, while Aeneas took 'Olympian' 6 to Stymphalus. Pindar also mentions sending 'Pythian' 2 and 'Pythian' 3 to Syracuse ('P'.2.67f.; 'P'.3.63ff.), as well as 'Olympian' 7 to Rhodes ('O'.7.8). Just as the presence of imported pots is used to postulate commercial connections between importing and exporting cities, so the existence of a market in poetry should be taken seriously as a sign of cultural contact between the two areas. As Pindar himself said:

This song, like Phoenician merchandise, is sent over
the grey sea. ('P'.2.67-8)

457-447: TANAGRA, OENOPHYTA, AND THE ATHENIAN HEGEMONY

In 457 Thebes again reappears in the pages of history, and, in fact, we are suddenly faced with an embarrassment of riches: not one, but two sources, Thucydides and Diodorus. Unfortunately, however, these two sources conflict with each other quite frequently. For example, in 457, (48) when the Spartans were in central Greece to aid the people of Doris against an attack by the Phocians (Thuc. 1.107; Diod. 11.79), and after the battle of Tanagra, Diodorus reports that the Thebans saw their opportunity and asked for Spartan help in regaining leadership in Boeotia (11.81). The Spartans agreed to assist them, persuaded by the Theban offer to fight the Athenians, and hoping to provide a counterweight to the increasing power of Athens; as part of this assistance they extended the lower wall of the city. (49) In Thucydides' account of the same events, however, nothing is said about a Theban request for assistance, or about such assistance being given to them by the Spartans. The discrepancies between these two accounts have occasioned serious problems for modern scholars: some reject Diodorus completely, (50) while others find Thucydides'

account wanting and consider Diodorus to be a valuable supplement. (51) Since the matter involves the question of the degree and timing of Theban recovery and political ambition after the Persian Wars, it is worth considering in some detail.

The account of Diodorus (11.79.4-83.4) clearly appears to be a conflation of (at least) two sources: there are two battles of Tanagra (11.80.2-3 and 11.80.6), both ending inconclusively with nightfall, and two battles of Oenophyta (11.81.6-82.5 and 11.83.1). Between the two pairs of battles there is a passage (possibly misplaced) which recounts the Theban-Lacedaemonian plan to win back the hegemony over the Boeotians for the Thebans (11.81.1-4); at some point between these plans and the Athenian attack (Oenophyta), the Lacedaemonians disappear from the scene, so that the battle(s) of Oenophyta are fought only between the Athenians and the Boeotians. The account of Thucydides, on the other hand, is highly compressed, but clearly reflects some of the same material which we find in Diodorus: the Lacedaemonians begin by coming to the aid of Doris, their return is cut off at Ceranea, the Athenians raise 14,000 men, including a Thessalian contingent which goes over to the enemy, and the battle of Tanagra results. Later the Athenians defeat the Boeotians at the battle of Oenophyta. On the other hand, there are serious discrepancies between the two accounts. Thucydides does not mention a Theban-Lacedaemonian plan to restore the hegemony of Thebes; since the plan, if it did exist, failed, and Thucydides is presenting only a capsule account of a fifty-year period in this part of his work, this is perhaps understandable, but it does leave puzzling problems. Why did the Lacedaemonians come with so many troops if their sole aim in the beginning was to aid the Dorians? The answer to this problem, suggested by Reece, (52) seems to be that they did not, contrary to both Thucydides and Diodorus (only Diodorus, probably misreading Thucydides, specifically states that the allies were Peloponnesians); rather, the number of 10,000 was made up in Boeotia, when the Lacedaemonians found themselves faced with the prospect of Athenian opposition to their return home. A bargain was probably struck: in return for Theban assistance against the Athenians, Sparta would help Thebes regain hegemony. Diodorus tells of this bargain, but, along with much else in his account, the report seems to be out of chronological order. Part of the Spartan assistance was help in extending the walls of Thebes, part the joint stand at Tanagra and the later Boeotian battle at Oenophyta. Why did the battle take place at Tanagra? Tanagra seems to

have been making an attempt to obtain the hegemony of the Boeotians, (53) possibly with the backing of the Athenians. Thus a battle there, which would presumably strike a blow not only at Athens, but at Tanagra as well (since it was fought on Tanagran territory, which would suffer damage), makes more sense if the Lacedaemonians are interested in rearranging the power structure of the Boeotian cities, as Diodorus reports. In addition to the fact that Diodorus' account provides information which makes sense out of the events (although he himself does not make sense out of the battle sequences, and thus need not be suspected of rationalizing), he is also supported in his picture of a Sparta interested in reviving Theban hegemony by Plato in the 'Menexenus' (242A).

Other troubling discrepancies occur between the accounts of Diodorus and Thucydides. For Diodorus, the battle(s) of Tanagra end inconclusively and a four-month truce is arranged. He does not mention the return home of the Lacedaemonians, who, on the contrary, seem to spend some time helping Thebes, if this section is not misplaced (but they do return, for they do not participate in the battle of Oenophyta). Moreover, in his account the chronology of the battle of Oenophyta is not clear (are we to assume that the Athenians waited to attack until after the expiration of the truce?). In the account of Thucydides, the Lacedaemonians win a victory and then return home (but the timing is not defined), and in 62 days the Athenians return to win the battle of Oenophyta.

In at least the report of an indecisive battle at Tanagra, Diodorus is again supported by Plato's 'Menexenus'. The accounts of Diodorus and Thucydides can be reconciled if we assume that, following an indecisive battle, a treaty was agreed to which gave the Lacedaemonians the right to an unmolested evacuation of their troops, and that this treaty, because it gave the Lacedaemonians this concession, would perhaps have been interpreted as a Lacedaemonian victory; if the treaty did not bind the Athenians in their relations with the Boeotians (which it may not have done, since some concession would have been necessary to their side as well), there would be no need to mention it in a condensed account, since it was irrelevant to the Athenian attack at Oenophyta.

What are we to conclude about the relative merits of Diodorus in this instance? Thucydides' report is reasonable and self-consistent, except for its attaching the 10,000 allied troops to Sparta from the outset of the operation against Phocis, but it clearly omits much in the way of detail which is reported in Diodorus. Diodorus is

confused in the way in which he puts together his sources, but the points of confusion are evident: they occur in the seams of his story, but the raw material which he incorporated seems untouched by this confusion. His basic building blocks are a brief and a more detailed account of Tanagra, an account of Theban and Lacedaemonian motivation, a long and a short version of Oenophyta (the long version containing a moralizing tale which may be a separate element), and an editorial section of his own on Myronides' victory. In the case of both battles, the short version could have been a condensation of the longer version by one of his sources, (54) although he evidently failed to recognize this. Plato in the 'Menexenus' knows Diodorus' versions of the battles and the motivation, but he perhaps knew them not from Diodorus' source, Ephorus, but from Ephorus' source. (55) Thus we can postulate a longer version of both battles, including the motivation section, going back to the fourth century at least, from which Diodorus drew indirectly through Ephorus (the doubling would have occurred when either Ephorus or Diodorus used both the original and an epitomized form of this source, failing to recognize that they were the same; Diodorus is probably the guilty one, to judge from his general propensity for doublets). (56) It thus seems reasonable to view the account of Diodorus as a helpful supplement to Thucydides' abridged account, and to accept its picture of a Thebes eager for a renewal of former authority and playing at politics with Sparta in 457.

The aftermath of the Boeotian defeat at Oenophyta was a decade of Athenian dominance in Boeotia. Whether this dominance extended to Thebes as well as to the other Boeotian communities is another historical puzzle. Diodorus says that Myronides took all the Boeotian towns except Thebes. Thucydides says that the Athenians were masters of the Boeotian country (1.108). Since Aristotle tells us that the bad administration of democracy in Thebes after Oenophyta led to the fall of the democratic government ('Pol.' 1302b29), we would perhaps do best to conclude that there was a brief period of democratic government in Thebes after Oenophyta, brought about under the direction of Athens which had gained its way by taking advantage of stasis rather than by conquest (it seems unlikely that Thebes with its walls could have been taken by anything less than a major battle, and we have no account of such an event). This allows us to reconcile Diodorus (Myronides did not capture Thebes in the same way as he did many other Boeotian cities, by warfare) and Thucydides (Athens did in fact become master of Boeotia, but in the case of Thebes this mastery came

about by means of stasis rather than by conquest).

The Athenians probably maintained control over Thebes during the entire decade between Oenophyta and Coronea, although during most of this time they supported a moderate oligarchy (following the failure of an attempt to impose democratic government). (57) During this decade Thebans must have taken part in the Athenian expedition against Thessaly along with men from other Boeotian cities (Thuc. 1.111); some Thebans may also have been involved in the Athenian expedition which restored the temple at Delphi to the Phokians after the Lacedaemonians had given it to the Delphians in the Second Sacred War (Thuc. 1.112). From the success of the Boeotians in the battle of Coronea, we may assume that dissatisfaction with Athenian domination grew during these years among the citizens of the Boeotian cities as well as among those exiled from these cities; it seems that this dissatisfaction with the outsider was also effective in muting inter-Boeotian disputes and laying the foundation for a renewal of the Boeotian league.

447-431: CORONEA AND THE RENEWED BOEOTIAN LEAGUE

In 447 Athens was suffering from widespread unrest within its empire. This is reflected in the tribute list for that year, which is the shortest list of the series except for the first year, and which records that many states made only partial payments. (58) In that situation the seizure of power by Boeotian exiles in Chaeronea, Orchomenos and other unspecified Boeotian cities brought as an Athenian response the sending of 1,000 Athenian heavy infantry to Boeotia, with allied contingents, under Tolmides. This force, after it succeeded in taking Chaeronea, was ambushed and decisively defeated; its leader died in the fighting. Athens was forced to evacuate Boeotia in order to regain the prisoners taken in that encounter. The main source for these events is Thucydides 1.113 (an even briefer account, evidently from the same source, is found in Diodorus 12.6). Plutarch adds information, portraying Pericles as trying to dissuade Tolmides from an expedition with such an inadequate force ('Pericles' 18), and gives us the name of the Boeotian commander, Sparton ('Agesilaus' 19.2).

In 427, in the speech at the trial of the Plataeans (Thuc. 3.62), the Thebans refer to Coronea as a Theban victory, and so it was long considered, at least in its immediate effect. (59) Larsen has suggested, however, that the Boeotian attack was instigated primarily by Orchomenos,

and that that city was the prime beneficiary, obtaining the hegemony of the Boeotians. (60) This theory has attracted support, (61) but it does not seem tenable. It is a complex construction resting at bottom upon Larsen's reading of Thucydides 1.113. According to this reading, Orchomenos was the leader of the revolt against Athens. But Thucydides does not say this; he speaks only of the actions of exiles who had gained control of Orchomenos, Chaeronea, and other Boeotian places. As Dull has pointed out, if exiles were in control of Orchomenos, it could not be said to be acting on its own behalf, nor does Thucydides single out Orchomenos as the leader (the Athenians attacked Chaeronea; Larsen's explanation of this - that this was a border fort of Orchomenos - does not seem convincing). Moreover, it is Thebes, and only Thebes, which issues coinage after 447, a fact which alone seems to rule out the thesis that Orchomenos held the hegemony between 447 and 431.

With the return of the Theban exiles after the withdrawal of the Athenians, changes must certainly have been made in the structure of the Theban government, even if (as seems to have been the case) a moderate oligarchy had been in power during the later years of Athenian control. The returning exiles, as the authors of Boeotian freedom, would certainly have claimed a right to a major role in Theban political life, while those who had ruled during the period of Athenian dominance, some of whom were probably 'new men' created by the Athenians, would have been reluctant to retire from public life. Müller suggested that at this time the prohibition was instituted against participation in trade for ten years prior to holding office; (62) this would have provided a means of incorporating some few of the 'new men' into the government while probably excluding many more (the entire period of Athenian rule was only ten years, and of those who were able to rise into the group of office holders under the more lenient requirements which we may assume to have been in effect then, few would have spent the entire ten years in their new position). Those excluded may have been satisfied with the prospect of becoming eligible within a relatively brief period of time. This seems to be a reasonable reconstruction of events (although one does wonder about the source of these 'new men' in a city which shows little evidence of trade), especially since we know that the oligarchy in 427 was considered to be much more open than that of the Persian War period (Thuc. 3.62). This suggests that a mechanism existed for introducing a wider group into the power structure in the later fifth century (perhaps the lowering of the property

qualification would have been enough to account for the 'new men').

It was not only the internal affairs of Thebes which required reorganization after Coronea; an even greater need was for a reconstitution of the Boeotian league in a form which would be acceptable to the other Boeotian cities. It had been many years since the league had functioned in an effective way, (63) and it was hardly possible at this point to return to the 'natural' relationships which had been in force prior to the Persian War. Nor had the other Boeotian cities been particularly happy with the Theban domination which at times marked the archaic league. None the less, the need to protect against further outside interference in Boeotian affairs demanded some sort of effective means of co-operation. This was accomplished by the creation of a highly sophisticated political organization which was theoretically representational (Bruce says of it that it seemed to amount to 'little more than the principle of proportional representation'), (64) but which was none the less tilted toward Theban control in practical application. What tilted it in Thebes' favor were certain practical aspects of the organization. The first was the fact that the meetings of the Federal Council were held in Thebes. From a naive point of view this could be seen as perfectly reasonable: the city was centrally located, and, because it was the largest Boeotian city, had more capacity than any of the others to supply the needs of visiting council members. None the less, being the seat of the governing council gave Thebes a considerable advantage, since the Theban councillors would be more likely to be present at any given meeting, and could be present with much less inconvenience and financial outlay to themselves (or to their city, if the cities helped defray individual expenses). (65) Secondly, Thebes was the only city to mint coins between 447 and 387. (66) Thirdly, Thebes also appears to have been the seat of the federal treasury, (67) which would also have appeared reasonable, considering the strength of the Theban defences; nevertheless, the actual physical presence of the treasury funds in Thebes would have added considerably to Theban power and options, as we can see by considering the uses made by Athens of the treasury of the Athenian Confederacy after its transfer from Delos to Athens.

It thus appears that in 447 someone in Thebes was exercising considerable political ingenuity in creating a federal structure which would appear scrupulously fair to all its members, and thus would be acceptable to the other Boeotian communities, but which would still give

the balance of power to Thebes. Allied to this political sophistication is a similar sophistication in the political application of number. Glotz has argued that the number of members in the federal council, 660, was the smallest number which would have allowed all the communities to have been proportionally represented. (68) Given any number of membership units (whether it was eleven or ten, or whatever, really does not matter at this point), each itself composed of from one to five autonomous city-states, the problem of the equal representation of these individual city-states arises. Clearly neither 50 nor 100 would be a manageable number for units with three city-state members; 60 would be the most useful number, since it is divisible by 5, 4, 3, 2, and 1, and would thus allow membership units composed in a variety of ways to achieve equal representation within their own unit. Starting from this basis of 60, the council would be composed of $60 \times X$, or 660, if the membership units numbered eleven.

The practical use of number manipulation for political purposes can be seen as early as Cleisthenes, who divided the Athenian state into three districts, then divided each of these into ten; this yielded thirty units or trityes, which were then regrouped into ten triads, with one tritye from each district; thus ten new tribes were formed with mixed membership from all three districts. Each tribe then contributed 50 members toward the council of 500, and also provided the basis for constituting other political entities, such as army units. Pythagorean influence has been suspected in this use of numbers; (69) however, it is not necessary to look far for Cleisthenes' primary motivation: to replace a closed tribal system, break up three existing locally based spheres of political influence (plain, shore, and hills), and to give each of these three areas representation within the council even when its own people could not, for practical reasons, be present. That the choice of the number 10 for the tribes and 50/500 for the council would be convenient in a society with an acrophonic number system based on 10 and 5 does not require any complex calculation. (70) The case of the Boeotian league is somewhat more complex, however, since there was such variety possible within the single units, and the possibility of expansion or retraction was evidently foreseen. The choice of a basis of 60 aimed at providing a number which would allow equal representation for districts varying from one to five member cities. A similar line of reasoning underlies Plato's choice of the number of households in the ideal state in the 'Laws' (737E-738A): the number 5,040 is

selected because it is divisible by all the integers up to ten and thus can be the basis for many different groupings of households for different purposes. In the case of the Boeotian league, Larsen has also recognized a high degree of sophistication in the quadripartite division of the citizen bodies of the cities and of the federal council, which he believes shows that 'the constitution must be the conscious work of someone with a theory and plan of government.' (71) The choice of 60 as a basis for representation reinforces this conclusion.

This sophisticated use of political arithmetic, and the existence in Plato of similar motivations in the choice of a number base, does bring to mind the Pythagoreans, who were interested in both politics and number, and whose influence on Plato was strong. It may not be a pure coincidence that tradition brings the Pythagorean Lysis to Thebes at just about this time. He had gone first to Achaea at about mid-century, and then, after an unspecified time, he went on to settle in Thebes. (72) The political changes in Boeotia with the expulsion of the Athenians may well have made Thebes an attractive place in which to settle, for there would have been need for political reorganization along oligarchic lines, and the Pythagoreans generally were interested in political theory and committed to oligarchical government. It is interesting to note as well that an expedition was sent from Achaea to Italy at about this same time to mediate political difficulties there which had arisen as a result of the persecution of the Pythagoreans, and to establish a constitution on the Achaean model (which was, however, democratic). (73) It looks as though the Achaeans had special interest in political theory, and that at just about the time of Lysis' arrival (perhaps as a result of his arrival with a request for assistance, although since he was an expelled Pythagorean, this may be rather unlikely) discussion must have centered on finding a constitutional solution to the political difficulties in Italy. Lysis would surely have participated in this discussion, if only because he would have been a valuable source of information about one of the disputing sides in the Italian situation. Thus upon his arrival in Thebes he would have been awake to the possible utility of constitutional manipulations as a means of achieving political aims. The advice of a Pythagorean could account for the sudden appearance in Boeotia of a rather complex and sophisticated federal organization which had some similarities to Plato's ideal state, and which shows its affinities with political theorizing in the additional fact that it seems to have served as the model for the constitution proposed by the Athenian oligarchs in 411. (74)

The influence of Lysis is of course conjectural, and it is all too easy to raise the spectre of Pythagorean influence whenever number enters the picture, as Lévêque and Vidal-Naquet have demonstrated so well in the case of Cleisthenes. The important point is the apparent existence of political theorizing at this time in Thebes, a city from which Socrates drew followers: if, after all, the theorizing is a purely native product, its reappearance in Plato is perhaps all the more interesting.

THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR (75)

Thebes played an active and important role in this war from the very beginning. The opening action of the war was the Theban/Boeotian attack on Plataea. (76) According to Thucydides, the Thebans approached Plataea expecting a relatively easy success, since they had been invited in by a Plataean party, and it was still peacetime. Consequently, they went in with a very small force (somewhat over 300 men), and, once inside and apparently successful, they simply issued an invitation to the Plataeans to join the Boeotian league. They had clearly miscalculated the depth of Plataean animosity and will to resist, as events showed.

The Plataeans, discovering the actual size of the Theban force, co-ordinated a surprise counter-attack and fell upon the Thebans with great ferocity, killing many and capturing a large number. According to the Theban account, those Thebans who had escaped, joining reinforcements which had arrived too late, withdrew from the vicinity of the city upon a promise and an oath that the prisoners would be returned in exchange for this withdrawal. The Plataeans, however, put the prisoners to death, claiming that their promise had been contingent not upon Theban withdrawal but upon the result of negotiations, and that there had been no oath.

As it turned out, the affair at Plataea proved to be the beginning of hostilities in the war, but it seems unlikely that Thebes intended this, or that it viewed the action against Plataea as anything more than a local effort to secure its situation before the storm of actual war broke. On the other hand, co-ordination of efforts between Thebes and Sparta may have been involved in Archidamos' assault on Oropus in the first Lacedaemonian invasion of Attica: loss of control of Oropus would have been a serious obstacle to the Athenian maintenance of the garrison which it had established at Plataea. The Boeotians provided their own contingent as well as cavalry for the main force in this first invasion, sending

their other forces to ravage the territory of Plataea, and it seems likely that their interests had an influence upon the strategy of the invasion (Thuc. 2.12, 22).

In 430 Thebes probably took part in the second invasion of Attica (Thuc. 2.47). The very first years of the war also seem to have been the time of the immigration of the populations of the smaller unwallled Boeotian cities into Thebes, mentioned by the anonymous historian P ('Hell. Ox.' 12.3).

In 429, perhaps motivated in part by fear of the plague, the Lacedaemonian forces marched to Plataea rather than invading Attica. After the failure of their initial efforts to take the city, they built a wall of circumvallation and withdrew, leaving behind enough troops to guard half the wall, with the Boeotians providing the rest of the garrison. After two years of siege, the Plataeans finally were forced by lack of supplies to surrender. The besiegers were under the command of a Spartan, and the decisions about the method of surrender and the fate of the defenders were taken by the Spartans, but, in fact, as Thucydides portrays it, Thebes was the decisive factor in these decisions. A technically voluntary surrender was obtained by the offer of a fair trial; however, the trial which ensued involved only the question, 'Have you done anything to help the Spartans and their allies?' Despite Plataean objections, the Spartans carried out this 'trial', motivated mainly if not entirely by their desire to please the Thebans. The surviving male prisoners were executed as a result, and in 426 the city was razed and an inn and a temple of Hera were constructed on the site, while the land was given on ten-year leases to Theban citizens (Thuc. 3.52-68).

In the same year in which Plataea was razed, 426, earthquakes occurred throughout Boeotia, especially affecting Orchomenos (Thuc. 3.87). This could well have been a stroke of luck for Thebes, since extensive or serious damage to Orchomenos and its defenses would have enhanced Thebes' position in relation to its ancient rival. (77) Thebes found yet another opportunity to enhance its standing in Boeotia in this same year when it went to the assistance of the Tanagrans who were attacked by Athens (Thuc. 3.91). (78)

In 424 the Boeotians carried out their first independent action outside of Boeotia when they anticipated Brasidas' actions against the threat of an Athenian takeover of Megara. The Megarid was, of course, a vital area for communications between the Peloponnesus and central Greece, and Theban interests were closely involved. Upon the arrival of Brasidas, the Boeotians turned over a

force of 2,200 hoplites and 600 horse to his command (Thuc. 4.72).

In this same year the Theban exile Ptoiodoros made overtures to the Athenians, and the result was an Athenian plan for a triple thrust into Boeotia. This rather complex operation, undermined by Athenian miscalculations and a betrayal of the plot, ended in the battle of Delion, in which Thebes played a decisive role in one of the major Athenian defeats of the war. (79) Nor were the Thebans particularly humble and restrained about this achievement. With the spoils of the battle they triumphantly built a great stoa in their agora, embellishing it with bronze statues. Possibly among them were one or both of the bronze horse and chariot figures of the artist Aristekides mentioned by Pliny ('HN' 34.72). They covered the walls of the other stoas and temples with so much loot from their fallen enemies that, as Diodorus says, they appeared to be made of bronze. They even instituted a special festival to mark the occasion in future days, according to Diodoros; it was called the Delia and was held not at Thebes but at the battle site at Delion (Diod. 12.70). Some individual families also joined in the conspicuous celebration, memorializing their own fallen heroes with the engraved stelai attributed to Aristekides as well, which are among the most important surviving works of Theban art today (see below, Chapter 7). •

In 423 the Thebans saw a further opportunity to gain from the battle of Delion. The city of Thespieae had been weakened by the loss of the best of its young men (Thuc. 4.133). An extant casualty list for some of these Thespians, as well as one listing 61 Tanagrans and 2 Eretrians who fell, bears witness today to these losses. (80) Like Plataea, Thespieae had a long record of opposition to Thebes, reflected in its support of the Greek cause in the Persian Wars, for which it suffered the destruction attributed to Theban instigation by Herodotus. Evidence of on-going friendly relations with the Athenians comes to light in a decree of 447/6 (the time of the reconstruction of the confederacy of the Boeotians, and thus a politically sensitive moment) in which the Athenians awarded proxenia to four Thespians. (81) In 423 the Thebans, seeing their opportunity, charged the city with being pro-Athenian and dismantled its walls. The benefits of this for Thebes were twofold. In a purely military sense, the dismantlement of the wall left Thebes as the only fortified place in the Asopos valley, and thus in a far stronger position than formerly. In political terms, Theban control of Thespieae gave it political control of two new districts within the

confederacy. With its two original districts, and the two which had come under its power when Plataea fell, this gave Thebes six districts out of the eleven in the league, an absolute majority which was effective in all three areas of league affairs: the executive, legislative, and judiciary. At the same time, Thebes itself furnished only two-elevenths of the troops and paid for only two-elevenths of the league's expenditures. (82)

In the negotiations for the Peace of Nicias in 421, Thebes (along with Corinth, Elis and Megara) rejected the treaty (Thuc. 5.17, 22), and throughout the 'peace', the Boeotians maintained only a series of ten-day truces (Thuc. 5.26). The rejection by the Boeotians of the peace soon became the basis for a Spartan alliance with Athens. This alliance in turn caused anti-Spartan agitation among Sparta's former allies, including the Thebans. (83) Reflections of these bad feelings can be found in the Theban response to requests for aid from Herakleia in Trachis in 418: Thebes sent 1,000 picked hoplites, who dismissed the Lacedaemonian governor Agesippidas on a charge of misgovernment (Thuc. 5.51; Diod.12.77.4). Nevertheless, the Spartan connection was not abandoned, for in 418 the Boeotians assisted the Lacedaemonians against Argive pressure on Epidauros (Thuc. 5.53-61).

With the resumption of active warfare, internal bickerings were overcome and Thebes played a major role in weakening Athens. Thebans assisted in the fortification of Decelea, and Theban plundering of Attica from this stronghold was one of the principal causes of the defeat of Athens, according to Thucydides. (84) In the meantime, the city did not forget its own Boeotian interests, stepping in to suppress a democratic uprising in Thespieae in 414 (Thuc. 6.95).

In 413 a Boeotian contingent was sent to Sicily under the command of two Thebans and a Thespian (Thuc.7.19, 43; Diod. 13.7.7). This was the first real venture of the Boeotians far beyond their borders. In the same year Thebans also went to the rescue of Mycalessos when it was attacked by a group of Thracian mercenaries being escorted back to Thrace by the Athenians. This attack was actually an indirect effect of Boeotian raids on Attica from Decelea, for Athens was so hard pressed in both the Attic countryside and in Sicily that it could not afford to keep these troops, who had arrived too late to serve with the reinforcements sent to Sicily under Demosthenes.

In 411 the enemy control of Decelea took on new significance for Athens, for it provided a refuge for some of the more extreme Athenian oligarchs after the overthrow of their coup. Another of the oligarchs, Aristarchus, who

was also one of the Athenian generals for the year, did the Boeotians a signal favor when he went not to Decelea but to Oenoe. Taking advantage of his position as general, he ordered the unsuspecting garrison to surrender to the Corinthians and Boeotians who had been besieging it. Boeotia thus gained control of this fort, which had been serving the Athenians as a base for harassment of the raiders from Decelea (Thuc. 8.98).

In 410 all the Boeotian cities joined in assisting the Euboeans in the task of building a causeway and bridge across the Euripus at Chalcis. (85) In 408, the Thebans again went far afield when a corps of Boeotians, under the command of the Theban Koeratadas, served with the Lacedaemonian forces at Byzantium; Koeratadas was captured and taken to Athens, but he managed to escape. (86) In the same year, the Boeotians contributed 900 cavalry to Agis' attack on Athens (Diod. 13.72.3-9). Finally, the last recorded Theban involvement in the war occurred in 406, when a Boeotian contingent under the command of the Theban Trasondas held the left wing in the sea battle at Arginusae. (87)

The war clearly enhanced Thebes' position within Boeotia, while also bringing the city to the fore as a major contender for power beyond Boeotian borders (clearly these two were not unconnected). This new Theban international weight was to have immediate and important effects in the post-war period.

POST-WAR PERIOD, 404-399

At the close of the war the Thebans were in the forefront of those who favored the destruction of Athens. The Spartans, however, rejected this extreme action, already seeing the need for a counterbalance to the rising power of Thebes. (88) Thebes' own recognition of its enhanced place in the Greek scene is reflected in the Theban claim of the tithe belonging to Apollo at Decelea, (89) an action by which Thebes made an independent claim to victory in the war. (90) Such a claim was clearly not without justification in the light of the Theban contribution to the defeat of Athens, but the claim nevertheless angered the Spartans. It was a sign of things to come. Thebes had already shown a potential for independent and even anti-Lacedaemonian action during the Peace of Nicias, and this potential was to become actualized in the years immediately following the conclusion of the war.

In 404 the Thebans voted aid to the Athenian exiles,

and they gave refuge to a large number of these men, including Thrasybulos. Although the city apparently stopped short of official support of these Athenian exiles in the form of troops, assistance was given 'in secret', although it is not known whether this was given by individuals acting privately, or by the city itself. (91) The Thebans also refused a Spartan request for aid against the exiles when they had succeeded in establishing themselves in the Piraeus (Xen. 'Hell.' 2.4.30). They also refused a Spartan request for assistance against Elis (Xen. 'Hell.' 3.2.21ff.; Diod. 14.17.4ff.). The Boeotians did supply troops to the Lacedaemonian contingent sent to aid Cyrus (Diod. 14.6.1); in this case, however, the Thebans may have been more interested in repaying debts due to the Persians (in the hope of future help?) than they were in co-operating with their former ally, and this should not necessarily be seen as a pro-Laconian act.

On the other hand, Theban behavior could not be classified as consistently pro-Athenian either, in view of their annexation of Oropus in 402/1, an action which must have been very annoying to the Athenians. Cloché is undoubtedly right in his assessment of the situation during this period: there were two parties competing for power in Thebes, the pro-Lacedaemonian and the anti-Lacedaemonian parties which we learn of from the author of the 'Hellenica Oxyrhynchia' (12.1), and neither party was strong enough to have its own way entirely. (92) Thus aid was denied to the Spartans, but no positive action was taken against them. Nor, as we have seen, was the city pro-Athenian, although such charges were leveled against Ismenias, the leader of the anti-Lacedaemonian party by Leontiades, the leader of the pro-Lacedaemonians ('Hell. Ox.' 12.1). It was a period of flux and readjustment, with the pro-Lacedaemonian party, which had great power during the Decelean phase of the war ('Hell. Ox.' 12.3), gradually losing this power to the other party as Theban anger at Sparta's unwillingness to share the booty of the war was enhanced by repeated instances of Spartan highhandedness.

The war brought Thebes many blessings: a more confident mastery of Boeotia, new resources of wealth, and a new daring to venture beyond Boeotian borders. None of the other participants had gained so much, and by 404 the stage was being set for the fourth century, when Thebes would put an effective end to Spartan power and spend its own brief moment in the spotlight as hegemon of Greece.

Cults and Sacred Places

1 Ares fountain	16 Tomb of Hector	Pharmakides
2 Tomb of Menoikeus	17 Fountain of Odysseus	Apollo Spondios
3 Dragging of Antigone	18 Teiresias' cenotaph	<i>Ismenion</i>
4 House of Pindar	19 Snake's Head	
5 Shrine of the Mother	20 Iolaos	Henioche and Pyrrha
6 Themis	21 Tomb of Kaänthos	Manto's seat
7 Moirai	22 Athena Onca	Athena Pronaia
8 Zeus Agoraios	23 Grave of Melanippos	Hermes Pronaios
9 Kabeirion	24 Tydeus	
10 Dionysos Lysios	25 Eteokles and Polyneikes	<i>Gates</i>
Image of Semele	26 Asphodikos	I Ogygian
Tomb of Semele	27 Teiresias' bird observatory	II Neistan
Stone of Alkmene	28 Harmonia's wedding song by the Muses	III Krenaian
Tombs of children of Amphion		IV Hysistean
Ruins of house of Lykos	<i>House of Kadmos</i>	V Electran
11 Artemis Eukleia	Dionysos Kadmeios	VI Homoloid
Statue of lion dedicated by Heracles	Demeter Thesmophoria	VII Proitidian
Tombs of Androkleia and Alkis	Chamber of Harmonia	
Apollo Rescuer	Chamber of Semele	
Hermes Agoraios	<i>Heracleion</i>	
12 Amphiarios' chasm	Tomb of AmphiTryon	
13 Athena Zosterias	House of AmphiTryon	
14 Heracles Hippodotos	Chamber of Alkmene	
15 Zeus Hysistos	Tomb of children of Heracles	
	Chastiser Stone	

4 The cults of fifth-century Thebes

Perhaps the clearest and most accessible evidence for the personality of a Greek city lies in its cults, the peculiar and idiosyncratic way in which it assimilated Olympian and local divinities and honored and celebrated them. In the case of Thebes, the very landscape itself seems to have been pervaded by divinity - rocks and stones, caves and crevices, mounds and ancient ruins, grassy spots and ash piles, all shared in harboring divinity in a way which probably reflected the most ancient religious impulses of the people. And when this divinity achieved a degree of personality, it usually did so as a part of a complex set of interrelated extended families, linked by blood ties and marriage relationships, in much the same way as any human being achieved a recognized place in the community. (1)

Neither these ties to the landscape nor the genealogical systematization were especially unusual for a Greek city; what was perhaps somewhat unusual was the fact that at Thebes it was not the Olympians who predominated in this community of gods, and when they did appear, it was often in a form of assimilation to a local god in which it was by no means certain that the Olympian became the dominant element. Thus worship was offered in the Ismenion to Apollo Ismenios - or to Ismenos himself, the son of Apollo and the local nymph Melia. Sometimes the subordination took place by means of a cult foundation: an Olympian god was installed in the local scene by means of a cult foundation by a more important native divinity. Thus Amphitryon dedicated the images of Athena at the sanctuary of Athena Zosterias, Kadmos founded the shrine of Athena Onca, and Harmonia dedicated images of Aphrodite (who was also her mother). Sometimes assimilation took place by intermarriage, with the newcomer gaining status and position as an in-law, as in the case of Heracles, who

joined the family of Kadmos by marrying his daughter Megara.

This interconnected network of divinities linked by family or story connections served to validate and clarify the place of the individual in the system. It also seems to reflect a love of system and order for its own sake, a concern for systematization which interestingly enough showed itself much earlier in this same area of the Greek world, in the 'Theogony' of Hesiod (the farmer's concern for everything in its proper time and place, which we find in the 'Works and Days', may perhaps offer a clue to this concern for order). Using this interconnected network as a working framework, we will now turn to a more detailed consideration of the Theban cult system, beginning with the Theban favorite, Heracles.

HERACLES

We have seen that Heracles held a special place in the affections of the Theban people, that they identified themselves with him through the symbolism of their coinage, and that their jealous neighbors, the Athenians, played upon this special relationship, portraying the hero-god as a glutton and buffoon as a way of expressing a similar opinion about the Thebans themselves. (2) Yet despite Heracles' fifth-century popularity at Thebes, and his adoption as the alter ego of the city, he appears to have been a late-comer among the family of Theban divinities. (3) Although he was said to have been born in Thebes, in the Theban mythological family he was only an in-law, the hero who married Megara, the king's daughter.

The marriage between Heracles and Megara did not even last: after he had killed their children in a fit of madness, he gave her to his nephew and friend, Iolaos (according to another version of the story, he killed her as well as the children in his madness). The marriage/mistress/rape connection was commonly used by the Greeks to provide various cities with family connections for their favorite local heroes or deities, and the brevity of these relationships was evidently of little concern as long as offspring ensued; usually a son resulted who could provide the desired ancestral link with the divinity. In the case of Heracles, no son of Megara and Heracles survived, but the tenuousness of the connection (Heracles was, after all, only the ex-husband of Megara) did not seem to bother the Thebans, who appeared to compensate for it by the multiplicity of holy spots associated with the hero-god's life and actions which they honored in the city and its vicinity.

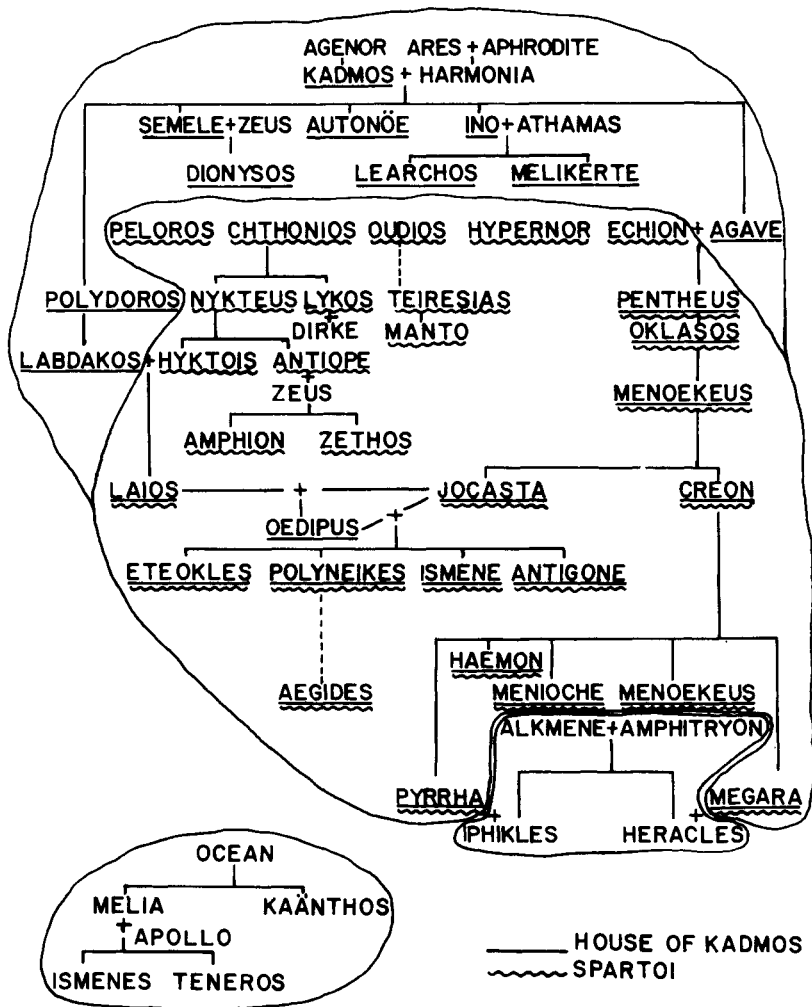


Fig. 3 Mythological families in Theban cults

Heracles' birthplace was located at Thebes at least from the time of Homer ('Il.' 19.99). Associated with this event were the tomb of Amphitryon, Heracles' foster father, and his house (Pindar, 'Pythian' 9.84; 'Nemean' 4.20), and the chamber of Alkmene, his mother, said to have been built by Trophonius and Agamedes (Paus. 9.11.1). Also revered were the indistinct images of the Pharmakides, sent by Hera to hinder the birth of Heracles (Paus. 9.11.3), as well as Galanthias, who helped Alkmene give birth. Sacrifices were offered to Galanthias before the festival of Heracles; (4) as a punishment for helping Alkmene, she was turned into a weasel, but Hecate took pity on her and made her her minister. Aelian reports the story of the weasel's assistance to Alkmene, and says that for this reason the Thebans worshipped weasels. On the other hand, Pausanias reports that it was Historis, the daughter of Teiresias, who helped Alkmene. (5) Also associated with Heracles' family were the two stone images of Athena at the sanctuary of Athena Zosterias, said to have been dedicated by Amphitryon, and the stone of Alkmene, which stood in place of a tomb in the precinct of the temple of Dionysos Lysios. (6)

Places associated with Heracles' later life and activities include the tomb of his children by Megara, and the Chastiser stone, thrown by Athena to prevent him from killing his foster father Amphitryon also in his madness. Both of these were within his temple precinct. Other holy spots associated with his activities were located apart from his temple complex, and mainly marked 'historical' events in his assistance to the city. Thus there were three shrines associated with his deliverance of Thebes from the control of Orchomenos: near the sanctuary of the Kabeiroi there was a large shrine of Heracles Hippiodotos - when the Orchomenians came with an army, Heracles bound their chariot horses at night at this spot (Paus. 9.26.1); on the road from the Neistan gate there was a sanctuary of Heracles Rhinokoloustes, which celebrated the spot where Heracles cut off the noses of the heralds sent from Orchomenos to demand the tribute (Paus. 9.25.4); and there was a statue of a lion in front of the temple of Artemis Eukleia, said to have been dedicated by Heracles after his defeat of King Erginos of Orchomenos (Paus. 9.17.1). This cult of Artemis appears to have had a further connection with Heracles: Ziehen argues that it was a cult dedicated to a previously independent goddess, Eukleia, daughter of Heracles and Myrto (Plut. 'Arist.' 20.6). Its precinct also contained the tombs of Androkleia and Alkis, daughters of Antipoenos who sacrificed themselves to secure Heracles' victory over Orchomenos (Paus. 9.17.1).

In addition to these holy places associated with his life and activities, Heracles also possessed an impressive temple complex, situated outside the walls of the city, which contained a temple, gymnasium, and race course. (7) The carvings on the temple pediments, and perhaps the temple which Pausanias saw, dated to the fourth century (the work of Praxiteles), (8) but the colossal figures of Athena and Heracles carved by Alcamenes were dedicated by Thrasybulos and his associates after they put down the tyranny of the Thirty with assistance from Thebans, thus in the late fifth century.

Iolaos, Heracles' nephew, companion, lover, and successor as husband of Megara, also had a hero-shrine, which stood outside the Proitidian gate (Paus. 9.23.1). It too had a gymnasium and racecourse. Iolaos figures fairly prominently in the odes of Pindar, (9) which suggests that his popularity and importance were considerable among the aristocratic class for which Pindar wrote. Heracles and Iolaos were patron divinities and role-models for the aristocratic practice of male homosexual relationships, and young Theban lovers took vows at the tomb of Iolaos. (10)

Finally, Pollux (1.30) reports a festival of Heracles Melon, but it is uncertain whether this referred to a children's game, a dedication (of sheep or apples?), a placing of the flocks (and possibly the fruit trees) under the protection of Heracles, or a confusion with a parallel story about Heracles in the Attic deme Melite. (11)

THE HOUSE OF KADMOS

Actually, according to the mythological tradition, the founder of Thebes, Kadmos, was himself an immigrant with no earlier family connections in the city. His right to a role in the city's history was guaranteed not by family connections, but by an oracle. While searching for his sister Europe (who had been abducted by Zeus) the Phoenician Kadmos had inquired at Delphi, and was directed to follow a guiding cow until she sank to the ground, and there to found a city, which was, of course, Thebes. (12)

The question of Kadmos' traditional Phoenician origins has been much debated, and the subject of much skepticism. (13) Recently, however, it has been shown to be much more plausible than had earlier been thought, on the basis of new finds from Thebes itself (in particular, a cache of about 100 cylinder seals, thirty of them of undisputed oriental origin), as well as discoveries at Ugarit in North

Syria. (14) At least a small settlement, perhaps of refugees, from this area now seems to be a distinct possibility.

Whether or not the Phoenician origin of Kadmos was a true folk memory or the result of some other process of folk-reasoning, it appears to have been given new significance in Athens after the defeat of the Athenians by the Boeotians at Coroneia in 447 by just that person who first brings it out clearly even to us - Herodotus. We perhaps tend to overlook the extent to which the Persian Wars, as we know them, are a creation of Herodotus. Equally, we tend to overlook the formative power his writing must have exerted upon its first audiences and readers, shaping *their* conception of that conflict and, in fact, creating the bipolar world view - Greek vs. Barbarian, East vs. West, Freedom vs. Slavery - which dominated their thinking. Thus the contribution he made to the Kadmos myth was to reveal its deeper significance, and to allow Athenians to see the medism of the Thebans as the act of a 'venomous' people, a people who were barbarian by their very origins. This must have been a welcome notion after the Athenians' defeat by these earth-born men (after all, the Athenians claimed the virtue of autochthony for themselves, but clearly the snakey autochthonous origin of the Thebans was of a quite different order of things, hardly a virtue, when it was intertwined with the story of the Phoenician Kadmos).

In the fifth century, Kadmos appears to have been still an important character in the mythical history of Thebes. He did not have an active cult or receive worship, but he must have impinged heavily upon the consciousness of the Thebans whose acropolis was named after him and who were frequently confronted by his house, which was the site of active cults (Dionysos, Demeter Thesmophoria), and by other sacred spots connected with his story.

Harmonia, the wife of Kadmos, also seems to have lacked an active cult in the fifth century, but she too had her place in Thebes: the ruins of her chamber served as a memorial of her role in Theban history, while the spot in the Agora where the Muses sang at her wedding was still pointed out in Pausanias' day (9.12.3-4). Moreover, there were sacred places associated with her parents, Ares and Aphrodite.

Pausanias mentions a fountain sacred to Ares on the Ismenian hill (9.10.5). His cult seems to have faded in historical times, (15) but its earlier importance is attested not only in legend (it is from the teeth of Ares' dragon-protector that the Spartoi sprung), but also by the existence of a double shrine to Ares and Aphrodite with

images which were said to have been dedicated by Polyneikes on the road from Argos to Mantinea (Paus. 2.25.1). Ares is also invoked as one of the gods of the city in Aeschylus' 'Seven against Thebes', (16) although this may be due at least in part to the dramatic situation of the play.

The mother of Harmonia, Aphrodite, seems to have played a very minor role in the cult-life of the city. Pausanias reports three wooden images, said to have been the figure-heads from the ships of Kadmos, which were dedicated by Harmonia to Aphrodite, under the names Ourania, Pandemos, and Apostrophia (9.16.3-4).

An important Theban cult which was connected with the family of Kadmos at least topographically was that of Demeter Thesmophoria: her shrine was in the house of Kadmos, and her cult may have been thought of as a Kadmeian foundation. Her festival, the Thesmophoria, was celebrated by the women of Thebes; during the celebration, which was held on the Kadmeia, the men of the council could not confer on the Kadmeia in their usual spot, but had to meet in the lower city. (17) Ziehen assumes rites similar to those known from Athens and from Potniae (Paus. 9.8.1).

Another Kadmeian foundation was that of Athena Onca (Paus. 9.12.2). Her image and altar were located at the spot where the cow which Delphi had directed Kadmos to follow sank down exhausted, providing Kadmos with a sign indicating the proper site for the new city. The cult figures three times in the 'Seven' of Aeschylus (lines 164, 487, and 501), and was located by Hesychius at the Ogygian gate; (18) some modern scholars locate it at the modern chapel of Hagia Trias. (19)

Of the children of Kadmos - Agave, Autonoe, Ino, Semele and Polydamos - only Ino and Semele appear to have had cults in the fifth century. (20) Ino was not only the aunt of Dionysos, but she and her husband Athamas were chosen by Zeus to be his foster parents, which so angered Hera that she drove the couple mad. Athamas consequently killed one of their sons, Learchos, and Ino, having killed the other, Melikertes, in a boiling cauldron, leaped into the sea with his body; she was transformed into the sea-goddess Ino Leucothea and the child into the deity Palaemon. (21) She may have provided the archetype of a primitive Maenad, and been a manifestation of pre-Dionysiac feminine mysteries in central Greece. (22)

Semele was the most famous of the children of Kadmos; her chamber was a holy spot in the house of Kadmos, and the cult of her son Dionysos was, along with that of Apollo Ismenios, one of the two chief cults in the city. His shrine, in which he was called Dionysos Kadmeios, was

in the house of Kadmos (Paus. 9.12.3-4). The cult object was a log which was said to have been hurled from heaven along with the thunderbolt which killed Semele; it was adorned with bronze by Polydorus. At the festival of Dionysos, which was held every third year, the Agrionia, a sacred drama of pursuit and counterpursuit was carried out by the women of the city and the priest of Dionysos on Mt Kithairon (Farnell believes that this rite, in which women chased a male priest, gave rise to the legend of Pentheus, celebrated in the 'Bacchae' of Euripides). The ritual took place at night and was orgiastic in character. (23) An inscription of the first century AD (but considered by the editors to be a renewal of an earlier inscription), (24) records that the Magnesians sent for Theban cult personnel, the Maenads, to establish Dionysiac rites in Magnesia. This suggests that Thebes was traditionally considered to be the center of Dionysiac worship, and the place from which authentic rites could be obtained.

Dionysos had another shrine near the Proitidian gate, the temple of Dionysos Lysios (Paus. 9.16.6-7). The interpretation of the epithet given by Pausanias (Deliverer) is a political one: when some Theban prisoners in the hands of the Thracians had reached Haliartos, they had been delivered by the god (we see a similar deliverance from imprisonment by a god in the 'Bacchae' of Euripides). In antiquity the epithet was, however, interpreted as deliverance from care (Plut. 'Qu. Symp.' 716B), and possession by the god was seen as the means of deliverance. (25) Some modern scholars, such as Farnell, have suggested that the deliverance was rather *from* the possession by the god (and thus a form of psychotherapy?); (26) the tradition, however, which is recorded by Pausanias ties in well with the Theban propensity to interpret landmarks in historical (or mythological-historical) rather than psychological terms. A number of related cult places were located within the precinct of the temple: the image of Semele and her tomb, the stone of Alcmene, the tombs of the children of Amphion, and the ruins of the house of Lykos.

AMPHION AND ZETHOS

A second major family group in the Theban cult system is that of Chthonios the Spartos, which included Amphion and Zethos. One of the puzzles of Theban mythical history is the duplication of foundation legends, the one involving Kadmos and the other involving this pair of brothers. In

the Catalogue of Women in the 'Odyssey' we first find the non-Kadmeian foundation story:

After her I saw Antiope, who was the daughter
of Asopos, who claimed she had also lain in the embraces
of Zeus, and borne two sons to him, Amphion and Zethus.
These first established the foundations of seven-gated
Thebes, and built the bulwarks, since without bulwarks
they could not
have lived, for all their strength, in Thebes of wide
spaces. ('Od.' 11.260-5, tr. Lattimore)

Attempts to rationalize or eliminate the conflicting legends were made even in antiquity. Thus a possible reconciliation of the two foundation legends is offered by Euripides in the 'Antiope': (27) the city of Amphion and Zethos was to be built on the river Ismenos, apart from the Kadmeia (lines 80-2). Pausanias records the same rationalizing tradition: Amphion and Zethos founded the lower city, while Kadmos established the city on the Kadmeian hill (2.6.4). (28) In Book 9, however, Pausanias recounts the story in a way which suggests rivalry between the Kadmeian line and the descendants of Chthonios, one of the Spartoi or earth-born men (9.5.3-9). Members of the latter family, the brothers Nykteus and Lykos, served loyally as regents for young members of the former family, first for Labdakos, then for his son Laios; during the regency of Lykos for Laios, however, the grandsons of Nykteus, Amphion and Zethos, arrived with an army and, defeating Lykos, managed to take over the royal power. When they died without issue, the sovereign power returned to Laios. In this version the rule of Amphion and Zethos bears the mark of an illegitimate interregnum (a tyranny) and they are punished by loss of descendants. In the version (or versions) recorded by Euripides (in the 'Antiope', and in the 'Hercules', 25-34); however, Lykos is portrayed as an outsider, and his ouster by Amphion and Zethos is accomplished with the intervention of Hermes and the blessing of Zeus ('Antiope' 64ff., 104f.). These variant versions may have been invented in a propaganda battle between those who saw themselves as descendants of an original population (the Spartoi) and those who traced their descent back to incoming settlers (Kadmos and his group). (29) There is also the possibility that propaganda efforts were made on behalf of Theban unity at some time: it may be that the alternative paternity accorded to Antiope in the 'Odyssey' (where she is the daughter of Asopos rather than of Nykteus) marks an effort to give Amphion and Zethos an autochthonous origin which transcended narrow clan lines.

Both Pausanias and Euripides are rationalizing, and

some of their material may have been drawn from later propagandistic use of myth; in addition, Euripides has also incorporated late fifth-century ideas into the story (for instance, according to Page, the editor of the papyrus fragments of the 'Antiope', Amphion and Zethos are opposed as representatives of the active and the contemplative lives). All of these uncertainties and possibilities make it rather hopeless to try to discover the origins of the story, or its original form, from our later sources, or to attempt a modern reconciliation which reflects history. (30)

Amphion and Zethos had a tomb, a small mound of earth, according to Pausanias, from which the inhabitants of the village of Tithorea in Phokis tried to steal earth during a specific time of the year, believing in an oracle of Bakis which promised better crops for them and worse for Thebes if they transferred earth from this tomb to that of Phokos and Antiope at this time. To prevent the theft, the Thebans watched the tomb carefully during the dangerous period (9.17.4). This tomb has been identified as the hill north of the Kadmeia. It consists of a mound in the shape of a step pyramid, which has added to speculation about possible foreign origins for Theban culture. (31) The tombs of the children of Amphion (Niobe's children), who died of the plague (Paus. 9.5.9), were in the sanctuary of Dionysos Lysios, while their funeral pyre was about a half stade away, with ashes still present in the time of Pausanias (9.17.2).

Plutarch tells of the tomb of Dirke, wife of Lykos, who was killed by Amphion and Zethos because she tormented Antiope (Euripides, 'Antiope', Apollod. 3.5.5). The location of this tomb was known only to the Theban officials called hipparchs (cavalry commanders). The hipparch completing his term of office took the incoming hipparch to the tomb alone at night, and together they performed fireless sacrifices in secret, then removed all traces of the ritual and went away separately (Plut. 'De gen.' 578B). The house of Lykos, Dirke's husband, was within the sanctuary of Dionysos Lysios.

HOUSE OF LAIOS AND THE STORY OF THE SEVEN

According to Pausanias' version of the Theban foundation legend in his Book 9, after the death of Amphion and Zethos, sovereign power returned to Laios. Laios was a compromise figure, in the sense that myth represented him as a child of an intermarriage between the immigrant house

of Kadmos and the autochthonous Spartos Chthonios (whose father, Labdakos, married Nykteis, daughter of Nykteus, according to Apollodorus, 3.5.5). It is uncertain whether or not there was a cult of Laios in Thebes; Pausanias mentions none. There is no suggestion of a cult of his son Oedipus either, but there are the landmarks associated with his story: the mountain of the Sphinx (Paus. 9.26.2), the fountain of Oedipus (Paus. 9.17.5-6), and the place called the Dragging of Antigone (Paus. 9.25.2). Cult interest centered rather upon the story of Oedipus' sons, Eteokles and Polyneikes, and the war which their quarrel brought on. A number of cults were associated with the various participants in this story, all minor in importance yet perhaps gaining in significance from their number. Sacrifices were offered at the tombs of Eteokles and Polyneikes in Pausanias' day (Paus. 9.18.3). Farnell suggests that the worship was ancestral rather than heroic; (32) Ziehen even doubts the antiquity of the cult, as there is no other evidence for it. The cult of Melanippos, one of the defenders of Thebes, is of particular interest since it was the one which Cleisthenes of Sicyon took to Sicyon in order to drive out Adrastus, who was the leader of the attack against Thebes and therefore Melanippos' mortal enemy (Hdt. 5.67). It seems unlikely that the Thebans actually gave up the bones to Cleisthenes; Ziehen is probably right in suggesting that they merely gave a copy of the cult figure. The grave of Asphodikos, one of the Theban fighters, was shown in Pausanias' day (9.18.6), but no evidence exists that he received worship. The burial spot of Tydeus was marked by three unwrought stones (Paus. 9.18.2), and there was a tomb of Menoikeus, son of Kreon, near the Neistan gate (but Wilamowitz believed that he was an invention of Euripides). (33) The spot where the Argive seer Amphiaraos, who was tricked into participating in the expedition, was swallowed up by the earth was shown to Pausanias. (34) He reports that it consisted of a small enclosure with pillars, adding that birds would not sit on the pillars, nor would animals graze on the nearby grass. Herodotus gives more information about the oracle of Amphiaraos: consultation was by incubation, and the Thebans themselves could not consult the oracle because, when given the choice, they had adopted Amphiaraos as ally rather than prophet. (35)

Finally, there were several spots associated with the seer Teiresias, who was closely involved with the story of the Seven, as well as with a number of other Greek stories. His cenotaph was on the road to Chalcis (Paus. 9.18.4), and his bird observatory was on the Kadmeia (Paus. 9.16.1). On the road to Glisas a place surrounded

by unwrought stones was identified as the Snake's Head, celebrating the place where Teiresias cut off the head of a snake, although Pausanias does not know exactly what distinguished this particular snake (9.19.3). Pindar connects Teiresias with the cult of Zeus Hypsistos, and with the birth of Heracles ('Nemean' 1.35-72): Teiresias was a prophet of Zeus Hypsistos, and prophesied about Heracles' future when the newly born infant killed the serpents which were threatening him. In spite of the number of places associated with the story of Teiresias, there is no evidence of worship (although there is a shrine of Zeus Hypsistos near the Hypsistan gate, Paus. 9.8.5).

Other members of the family of Kreon were honored in Thebes. There were statues of his daughters Henioche and Pyrrha to the right of the temple of Apollo Ismenios (Paus. 9.10.3). Henioche appears to have been one of several incarnations of an original Boeotian goddess of horsy nature (the name also appears as an epithet of Hera in Lebadeia, according to Pausanias, 9.39.5, and as the name of the wife of Kreon in the 'Shield' of Hesiod, line 83). (36) Pyrrha seems to have been the Pyrrha named by Moschus (Megara 4, 52) as the wife of Iphicles. (37)

THE FAMILY OF MELIA: APOLLO

The story of Apollo's intrusion upon the local scene is expressed in myth in genealogical terms: Apollos carried away Melia, a local divinity and the daughter of Ocean. Her brother Kaänthos, unable to retrieve her, set fire to the sanctuary of Apollo and was shot by the god; his tomb was shown to Pausanias (9.10.5). Apollo had two sons by Melia, Ismenos and Teneros. The former gave his name to the river Ismenos, and became associated with Apollo in some way in the cult of Apollo Ismenios, while the latter received the gift of prophecy and became the prophet of the Ptoion Apollo (Paus. 9.26.1).

The cult of Apóllo Ismenios was one of the most important Theban cults. The temple of Apollo was located in the vicinity of the river Ismenos, on a hill outside the city walls to the southeast. Remains of a peripteral temple of the classical period on this hill are probably those of this temple. (38) The precinct contained stone figures of Hermes and Athena Pronaia carved by the sculptors Pheidias and Skopas, the stone seat of Teiresias' mantic daughter Manto, and the images of Kreon's daughters Henioche and Pyrrha. The large cedar-

wood cult statue of Apollo was compared by Pausanias to that of Apollo at Branchidai; both were the work of the sixth-century sculptor Kanachos.

Two passages in Pindar offer clues to the way in which the fifth-century Thebans viewed the relationship between Apollo and Ismenos in this sanctuary. In the first only Ismenos figures, in markedly Theban company:

Shall we sing of Ismenus, or of Melia with her golden distaff, or of Cadmus, or of the holy race of the Sparti, or Thebe with her purple snood, or the all-daring might of Heracles, or the gladsome honour due to Dionysos, or the bridal of white-armed Harmonia? (Frag. 9, tr. Sandys)

In the second passage, Semele and Ino are summoned to the presence of Melia. They are invited to

Come to the inmost treasure-house of the golden-tripods, the treasure-house which Loxias honored supremely and named the Ismenian shrine, the seat of truthful oracles. Come, ye children of Harmonia, where Loxias biddeth the hosts of heroines assemble to visit the shrine, that so at nightfull ye may sing the praises of holy Themis and Pytho and the centre of the world that judges rightly ('Pythian' 11.4-10, tr. Sandys)

The most significant thing about these two passages for the present discussion is the way in which they treat the relation between Apollo and Ismenos. It is portrayed as a sanctioning of a local oracular shrine by Apollo, with a definite separate existence assumed for Ismenos. The Theban context is emphasized, both in the mythical characters named and in the reference to the Theban custom of having maiden-songs sung at the major festival held at the Ismenion, the Daphnephoria.

Both Pausanias and Proclus describe the festival of the Daphnephoria, which seems to have been the principal patriotic celebration of the city, similar to the Panathenaic festival in Athens. Its frequency is in doubt: Proclus says that it was held every nine years, (39) but the account given by Pausanias suggests that it was a yearly affair, since the Daphnephoros was chosen priest for a year (possibly, as in the case of the Panathenaic procession, greater and lesser forms were held in various years). Pausanias offers a brief account: a handsome boy of noble family was chosen priest of Apollo Ismenios for a year; he wore a wreath of laurel leaves and was called 'Daphnephoros'; at least some of the boys dedicated tripods as part of their service to the god (9.10.4). Proclus gives more details of the procession and the cult objects. The nearest kinsman of the Daphnephoros carried a staff of olive wood called the

Kopo, which was wreathed in laurels and flowers. At its top was a bronze globe signifying the sun, from which hung smaller globes, representing the stars. In the middle of the staff was another globe, smaller than the one at the top, with 365 purple fillets, representing the moon and the procession of the year. The bottom of the staff was wreathed with a saffron cloth. The Daphnephoros wore a golden crown (not a laurel wreath, as Pausanias has it), a bright-colored garment, and shoes called Iphicratides (these mark the description as applying to the fourth century or later). He was followed by a maiden chorus, carrying branches and singing. Pindar's Fragment 84 is one of the maiden songs which were sung on the occasion (see Chapter 6).

DISTANT CULTS

The shrine associated with Ismenos' brother Teneros lay at some distance from Thebes, in the mountains which border the plain on the north, about fourteen miles from the city. (40) It was one of two shrines beyond the usual range of Theban territory which appear to have been under some sort of Theban control during much of the fifth century. The other was also a shrine of Apollo, that at Delion (Hdt. 6.118), which is about twenty miles from Thebes, on the coast east of Tanagra, and within the natural sphere of influence of that city. In both cases, religious control apparently involved a degree of political control or involvement as well.

Theban interest in Delion appears in 470, when the Thebans took it upon themselves to return to Delion the cult statue of Apollo which the Persians had taken and left in Delos. The move on the part of Thebes indicates that the city had recovered sufficiently from the after-effects of the Persian Wars to begin to extend its political concerns into the territory of the rival city of Tanagra. Similarly, after the defeat of Athens in the battle of Delion, part of the victory celebration for the Thebans consisted in the establishment of a special annual memorial festival, to be held at the shrine of Apollo in Delion (Diod. 12.70).

In the case of the shrine of Apollo Ptoios, the establishment of Theban control occurred much earlier than the fifth century, perhaps in the period of the struggle for power with Orchomenos. (41) By the fifth century, as we have seen, this control was quite thoroughly grounded in Theban mythology: the prophet of the shrine was Teneros, the brother of the Theban Ismenos

(Strabo 9.2.34). Not only did these Theban brothers both preside over cults of Apollo, but the cults also bore a close resemblance to each other, in that both were oracular and both had a close association with Athena Pronoia, whose shrine was incorporated in the shrine of Apollo in both cases, rather than being separate, as at Delphi. These resemblances may reflect a Theban reorganization of the cult, as Wilamowitz held, (42) or may simply be the result of parallel development of the two cults from an original common cult-type. (43)

The time of greatest influence and affluence for the shrine of Apollo Ptoion was the archaic period. In the sixth century two Athenians of note, Alkmeonides, one of the Alkmeonid family, and Hipparchos, son of Peisistratos, both made dedications at the sanctuary. (44) This affluent period, and Athenian interest in the shrine, both ended with the Persian Wars; the last notable consultation occurred when Mys, the agent of the Persian Mardonius, consulted the oracle and received an answer remarkable for being in his own Carian tongue (Hdt. 8.135; see Chapter 6). After this, the oracle fell into comparative obscurity: the number of offerings diminished, no building activity took place, and Herodotus even found it necessary to explain to his readers the name of the oracle, its location, and its Theban connections. (45)

CULTS WITHOUT INTERCONNECTIONS

There are a few minor cults (some of them contested) which appear to lack any connection with the mythological history of Thebes, possibly in some cases simply as a result of accidents in the transmission of the tradition. These will be considered in alphabetical order.

Apollo Rescuer (Paus. 9.17.2), located near the temple of Artemis Eukleia.

Apollo Spondios (Paus. 9.11.7-8) had an altar made from the ashes of victims, which were working oxen (Paus. 9.12.11); it was the site of an oracle (divination by voices). (46)

Hector (Paus. 9.18.5), first attested in about 300 BC by Lycophron; the complete silence about its existence before this time makes it unlikely that it was an ancient cult. It is notable as being the only Greek cult of Hector. It has been suggested that after the battle of Plataea, the Thebans sought the aid of Hector against his ancient foes, (47) but, as Ziehen contends, this seems too provocative an act to be credible. The most thorough discussion of the cult is

that of Crusius, who thinks the probable time of introduction was during the struggle for hegemony in the fourth century, although he does not rule out the possibility that the cult went back much earlier, even to the period of greatest interest in heroes, the sixth century. (48) He definitely rejects an indigenous cult of Hector, however.

Linos (Paus. 9.29.8-9), whose tomb had disappeared by the time of Pausanias. The tomb and cult may have existed in the fifth century, disappearing only after Philip took the bones of Linos to Macedonia.

The Moirai (Paus. 9.25.4) had a sanctuary, with no temple or image.

Poseidon: Pausanias does not mention any temple, shrine, or altar, but Ziehen believes that his cult must have existed in Thebes on the grounds of the evidence of the 'Shield' of Hesiod and the 'Seven' of Aeschylus (130). Keramopoulos also argues for his worship. (49)

Themis (Paus. 9.25.4) had a sanctuary with a white marble image, on the Neistan road near the shrines of the Moirai and Zeus Agoraios.

Zeus Agoraios (Paus. 9.25.4) had only an image of stone. Zeus Homoloios, mentioned only by Photius.

CULTS WITH SPECIAL SIGNIFICANCE IN THE FIFTH CENTURY

Some idea of the direction of religious interest in the fifth century can be inferred from a consideration of the cults which can be identified as originating in or having special popularity in this period. These include the cults whose introduction is attributed to Pindar, and the cult of the Kabeiroi.

Four cults or dedications were attributed to Pindar by Pausanias: the Mother of the Gods (9.25.3) who appears as Pindar's neighbor in 'Pythian' 3.77ff.; (50) Pan (9.25.3), who is linked with the Mother of the Gods by Pindar in Fragment 85; Ammon (9.16.1); and Hermes Agoraios (9.17.2). The dedication of Ammon, an image carved by the sculptor Calamis, belongs to the context of Pindar's Cyrenian relationships ('Pythian' 4, 5, and 9, and Fragment 17). Herodotus tells of talking to Cyrenians who had visited the oracular shrine of Ammon in Libya (Hdt. 2.32), the Cyrenians had dedicated an image of Ammon at Delphi (Paus. 10.13.5), and Pindar connects Cyrene with Ammon in 'Pythian' 4.16. Pausanias also tells us that he had read a hymn to Ammon sent to the shrine by Pindar, which was inscribed on a stele beside the altar (9.16.1); Pindar's Fragment 17 is perhaps part of this hymn. (51)

It is interesting that the three other cult figures attributed to Pindar in addition to the cult of Ammon were each connected in some way with the cult of the Kabeiroi; this supports other evidence of this cult's importance in the fifth century. Worship was offered to the Mother of the Gods, one of Pindar's chosen cults, in the Kabeirion (Paus. 9.25.5), while Pan is a frequent participant in the dances and processions portrayed on the Kabeirion vases. (52) Hermes, known as the father of Pan, (53) also figured in the cult of the Kabeiroi, (54) and both Pan and Hermes appear on a Kabeirion cup in a scene in which Hermes is portrayed as initiating Pan. (55)

The cult of the Kabeiroi, more than any other Theban cult, reflects upon the fifth-century religious scene in the city, for it was during this century that it rose from its obscure sixth-century beginnings to a flourishing state. (56) The shrine lies about five kilometers from Thebes not far from the road to Thespieæ. Pausanias reports something of its origins and early history. A city had existed on the spot in the dim past, and its citizens were called Kabeiroi. Demeter gave the cult to two of these Kabeiroi, Prometheus and his son Aitnaïos (9.25.6-7). The site was abandoned when the Epigoni attacked Thebes, but the cult was later re-established; possibly this re-establishment is to be connected with the otherwise unknown Athenian Methapos, to whom Pausanias attributes the introduction of rites and mysteries at the Kabeirion (4.1.7). (57)

While Pausanias relates something of the history of the cult, he is careful to reveal nothing significant about the identity of the Kabeiroi or the ritual performed in the shrine, and we are still largely in the dark on both these matters, although the archaeological evidence for the cult does provide some clues. This evidence consists mainly in the excavation reports of the site, the Kabeirion pottery, and the terracotta votive offerings. The pottery is considered in greater detail in the chapter on crafts; here the emphasis will be upon its contribution to an understanding of the cult.

The cult appears to have been of a chthonic nature, with a man (the Kabeiros) and a boy (Pais, or Pais Kabeirou) figuring most prominently in the vase paintings. (58) The excavations have shown that a major change occurred at the end of the sixth century: round 'symposium' buildings were built, and at the same time kantharoi came into use and metal figures were replaced by clay figurines as offerings, with a wide range of new types appearing to supplement the earlier steers: (59) Pan, Silenus, a standing youth, a reclining man, and grotesque figures now

make their appearance. These changes around the turn of the century seem to have been the result of a decisive change in the character of the worship. This might have been the introduction of new rites by Methapos which Pausanias mentions, although the excavators suggest that the change may have been the result of the influence of the cult of Dionysos. (60) The portrayals of the Kabeiros on the vases do show a great resemblance to Dionysos (banquet scenes with kantharoi or horns of plenty, frequent use of vine-tendrils ornamentations), and others have inferred on evidence aside from the excavation that Kabeiros assimilated Dionysos in Thebes. (61) The problem with this theory is the continuing importance of Dionysos as a major cult god of Thebes. A careful study of the evidence has led to the cautious assertion of Hemberg: considered strictly, the evidence shows only that there was no fixed art type for the portrayal of the Kabeiros (who appears in many other places in the Greek world besides Thebes, and in a wide variety of forms and even numbers), but that his nature was such that the Dionysos type was suitable for use; the explanation for this is that both gods developed in rural, wine-producing areas. (62)

More votive inscriptions are addressed to the Kabeiros than to Pais, but terracotta offerings of various boy or child figures far outnumber those of men, and there are also numerous dedications of toys, especially tops. (63) This has led to speculation that the shrine was especially frequented by children, but the pattern of dedications could as well be explained by the presence of a significant child in the myth. The combination of a man and a boy, who is often portrayed holding animals which were a traditional courtship gift, perhaps should not be overlooked in a city with a strong tradition of homosexual relationships between men and boys.

The degree to which female divinities shared in the worship at the Kabeirion is unclear. Pausanias says that worship was offered not only to the Kabeiroi but also to the Mother (9.25.5), and to a certain Pelarge, a daughter of Potnieas, who with her husband Isthmiades played some role in re-establishing the rites, and who was honored by the sacrifice of pregnant victims in accordance with an oracle of Dodona (9.25.7-8). Female figures also appear frequently in the vase paintings, but among the votive offerings, only a few female figurines or typical female dedications such as spinning whorls have been found. (64) There was, however, a nearby shrine of Demeter Kabeira and her daughter Kore (seven stades from the Kabeirion, but not identified or excavated);

its connection with the Kabeirion is clear not only from the use of the epithet 'Kabeira', but also from the fact that the rites of the Kabeiroi were said to have been the gift of Demeter, and from the similar location of a Demeter sanctuary at the Kabeirion in Samothrace. The suggestion has been made that the cult of the Kabeiroi was mainly oriented to men and boys, while women frequented the sanctuary of Demeter Kabeira and Kore. (65)

Some of the vase paintings show processions in which a sacrificial animal approaches an ithyphallic herm. This suggests the fertility nature of the cult, as do the numerous figurines of ithyphallic sileni among the votive offerings. (66) In the second half of the fifth century the animal characteristics of these figures decreases, and the sileni are often portrayed as flute players, but the coroplasts of the Kabeirion were still far behind Attic vase painters in shedding the older tradition which emphasized their animal nature. This is probably a reflection of the continuing agricultural orientation of the area, and the more direct interest in fertility which such an area has. It is interesting that these silenus figures were dedicated in far greater numbers at the Kabeirion than at any other Greek sanctuary; in the light of Socrates' connections with Thebans in the 'Phaedo', one cannot help but recall Alcibiades' comparison of Socrates to a silenus figure. (67)

Probably the most striking feature of the Kabeirion vase paintings is their evident portrayal of caricatures of myth. The question raised is, what do these scenes represent? Are theatrical performances being portrayed, or do these pictures reflect some form of non-dramatic epic parody? (68) Comic dances, often involving imitations and grotesque figures (fat men, ithyphallic men), were widespread in the Greek world in the archaic period, as attested by vase paintings: padded dancers are common on Corinthian vases, (69) not unknown on Attic pottery, (70) and found in Boeotia as early as the mid sixth century. (71) Athenaeus gives several local names which were applied to these dancers, including the name used by the Thebans, 'ethelontai' (volunteers? improvisers?). (72) Attic comedy appears to have developed out of this sort of grotesque dance, and Webster suggests that the sixth-century Boeotian vases were inspired by local performances. (73)

Did a form of drama develop out of the grotesque dances of the Kabeirion? The apparent story scenes on the vases suggest this (there is no reason why all the vases should represent the same aspect of the cult celebrations: the procession and banquet scenes can

reasonably be taken to illustrate processions and banquets). More evidence comes from the terracotta figurines dedicated at the shrine, some of which also portray parody figures. The appearance of parody in two forms - the vases and the votive figurines - makes it seem less likely that the parodies were independently conceived by craftsmen without the stimulus of actual performances. (74) The finding of theatrical masks at the site of the Kabeirion, dating from the end of the fourth century or the beginning of the third, adds further weight to the thesis of dramatic performance. The earlier caricatures of the fifth century can be seen as part of a continuing tradition of theatrical performances in the sanctuary, with the local variety having been abandoned in the fourth century for Attic comedy. (75) Finally, and perhaps most convincing, is the discovery in the recent excavations of the Hellenistic theatral area which is central to the site. An antecedent of this theater would have provided the context for these fifth-century performances. (76)

The objection has been raised that theatrical scenes cannot be intended on the vases since figures are portrayed which are naked, wear no masks, or appear in unstageable scenes. (77) This, however, should be balanced against a consideration of the vase painter's probable intentions and the conventions within which he worked (the same considerations hold for the votive figurines). The suggestion made by Bruns seems reasonable: many of these paintings were meant to be souvenir pieces, suggestive of the festival activities but not 'photographic' representations of specific scenes. (78) What was portrayed was the act of burlesque itself, and not the precise instruments whereby it was carried out (thus masks may be considered as a theatrical convention to be thought away in appreciating the scene; as such, they would not be portrayed on a souvenir piece).

Assuming that there were performances, what were these like? That they must have involved parody of mythological stories seems to be about the only fairly certain inference which can be drawn from the evidence. The combination of the name 'ethelontai', and the lack of any literary evidence in the form of quotations or fragments, should probably lead us to assume that the performances were improvised, perhaps even pantomimes, in a limited traditional repertoire. Nothing remains to suggest a chorus (the drama developed in Greek Sicily also lacked a chorus). If the performances were in fact replaced in the fourth century by Attic comedies, this could suggest a similarity of purpose, and adds weight to the theory

that the cult of the Kabeiros was in some way influenced by that of Dionysos, even if it did not completely assimilate it.

The Theban cult of the Kabeiroi was a member of a more extended mystery-cult family, the Kabeiroi cults, which spread from a Thracian homeland across the Greek world, giving rise to many local cult variations, the most famous being that in Samothrace. (79) The original cult must have been somewhat amorphous, for local traditions created many variant versions of the same basic material: the Kabeiroi in different places varied in name, number, sex, age, size, and sphere of influence from the Kabeiroi in Thebes, as well as from one another. (80) The Theban cult of the Kabeiroi should also be viewed within the even wider context of the phenomenon of the Greek mystery religions, which manifested itself in other forms in the worship of Dionysos, the Eleusinian mysteries, Orphism, Pythagoreanism, and the Sicilian cult espoused by Theron. The characterization of these various mystery cults by Burkert as overlapping, 'superimposed circles with some areas shared, some not', is much more helpful than an attempt to translate similarities into identities, or to find influences between one and another of these still poorly understood cults. (81)

Pausanias attests to the longevity of the cult of the Kabeiroi; even in his day he was unwilling to reveal its secrets, and he relates stories of the miserable fates of those who in one way or another transgressed, including anonymous victims among the men of Xerxes and Alexander. Clearly in Thebes it was more than a simple local cult of rude farmers and shepherd boys (a picture which could arise only from prejudice, in the face of the evidence). In the years 440-420 BC it reached an artistic peak with the production of the Kabeirion vases, which probably reflected a period of unusual prosperity and creative vigor in the cult as a whole, and not just among its vase painters. Plato's 'Phaedo' suggests that, by the late fifth century, some men of substance in Thebes were concerning themselves with the fate of the soul after death. Perhaps it is not simple coincidence that at this time the Kabeirion potters and painters were producing their most remarkable product.

CONCLUSION

The impression which results from a survey of Theban cults in the fifth century is one of a system in which older religious elements, and even rudiments of a primitive

stage of religion, persisted and predominated. The Olympian gods played a relatively small role, and when they did appear they were often merged with, or subordinate to, the local mythical figures. Remnants of fetish cults appear in the many sacred stones, such as the stones of Alkmene, Manto, Tydeus, and Heracles, and in the log image of Dionysos Kadmeios. This primitivism and conservatism is certainly an important aspect of the Theban cult system, (82) but it would be a mistake to overlook the fact that there were also important elements of change active in that system. The first is the tendency to synthesize, to draw disparate elements together into a systematic Theban 'history'. The same intellectual process is of course to be seen in Hesiod, who lived not far from the city. Solmsen viewed this as a conservative method of change; it is interesting that he notes as well the possibility that this process of synthesis was a forerunner of philosophical reasoning. (83)

A second element of change was to be found in Thebes' receptivity to new cults, especially those of a foreign or mystery nature. We see this receptivity operating in the introduction of the cults of the Mother and Pan (whether they were actually introduced by Pindar or by someone else is immaterial), and especially in the reorganization and flourishing of the cult of the Kabeiroi in the fifth century. It is also apparent in Thebes' reputation for being the earliest home of Dionysos and his orgiastic worship in Greece. In fact, a strong interest in other-worldly concerns is the most striking feature of Theban religious life in the fifth century. Nor should this be surprising, when we consider the agricultural orientation of the city and the proliferation of oracles in Boeotia in general: there were oracles of Trophonius at Lebadeia, of Amphiaraos at Oropus (after the late fifth century), and of Apollo at Hysiae, Tegyra, Ptoion, and Delion. In Thebes itself there were oracles of Amphiaraos (before the late fifth century), Apollo Ismenios, and Apollo Spondios.

Thus at Thebes in the fifth century we find a well-ordered system of cults with strong ties to the local landscape and to local history, and relatively little interest in the panhellenic Olympians. This cult system evidenced a certain conservatism in the preservation of primitive elements. On the other hand, it also manifested a definite receptivity to new elements, especially those of a mystery nature, which accorded well with the religious climate of a land populated by oracles from prehistoric times.

5 Philosophy in Thebes

The receptivity of Thebans to new mystico-religious ideas manifests itself in a particularly interesting way in their response to Pythagorean philosophy. Pythagoreanism in its pre-Platonic form centered upon a belief in the transmigration of souls, a prescribed Way of Life based upon reverence for Pythagoras, and a belief that the cosmos and all things in it are, basically, harmonies of numbers, a belief which had not yet developed into scientific mathematics or the derivation of the cosmos from the One and the Indefinite Dyad, later fruits of Platonic influence. (1) Having developed in southern Italy, its teachings were marked by the prominence of chthonic divinities and eschatological beliefs characteristic of that area, as well as by an unusual degree of acceptance of women as significant members of the religious community. (2) The society followed a normal pattern of Greek culture in which cult-society and political club were one and the same, and despite its apparent other-worldly orientation, it was very active and influential in politics. By mid fifth century its strong oligarchic character and its involvement in local politics led to revolts and persecutions against the sect throughout southern Italy. It was as a result of this political upheaval that Pythagoreanism reached Thebes, when Lysis, a Pythagorean refugee from the persecutions, settled in that city. Lysis, having escaped from the burning meeting-house in Croton with only one other youth, made his way first to Achaëa in the Peloponnesos, and then moved on to Thebes, where he stayed to become, at least in tradition, the teacher of Epaminondas, and to develop a Pythagorean community, two of whose members were Simmias and Cebes, Socrates' partners in dialogue in the 'Phaedo'.

The basic soundness of the tradition of Pythagorean

involvement in Thebes is attested by Plato. The particular tradition attributing this involvement to Lysis goes back to Aristoxenos, a disciple of Aristotle. His source may have been one of the 'last Pythagoreans' mentioned by Diogenes Laertes (8.46), who were living in Phlious at the turn of the fifth century and thus would have been in a position to be well informed. Although Aristoxenos is notorious for his attempts to discredit Plato, in chronological matters and questions about the involvement of particular individuals he is considered to be a reliable authority. (3)

In many ways the choice of Thebes was a logical one for Lysis, for the city had many characteristics which suited his Pythagorean background. It was an agricultural society with strong interests in the early substratum of mystery religion which underlay the religion of the Olympians, and it accorded women a relatively important role in religious observances (important if the Pythagorean tradition of participation by women was to be maintained). It was noted for its interest in music, and it was oligarchic in political orientation and preserved the aristocratic way of life. All of these would have been points of attraction to a Pythagorean. But what of it all might have been known to Lysis?

There were actually several sources of information available to him which would have suggested the possibility of a friendly reception for Pythagorean religious philosophy in Thebes. These could have gone back to Hesiod's 'Works and Days', which was surely known to him; its inclusion of number lore and taboos which were close to if not identical with Pythagorean traditions would have suggested a receptive environment. Thebes as a center for the orgiastic worship of Dionysos was widely known among the Greeks of the fifth century, and the Theban cult of the Kabeiroi may also have been known, at least among religious enthusiasts. Knowledge of Pindar's work, especially those passages which deal with transmigration and the afterlife (which would be the most likely passages to attract attention and be circulated among Pythagoreans) was possible for Lysis. (Pindar had composed two odes, 'Olympian' 10 and 11, for Agesidamos of Epizephyrian Locri in southern Italy), and would have provided more specific and comparatively recent hints which he might have taken as revealing tendencies in Pindar's home city. Turning to the political sphere, we may assume that Lysis was aware of Thebes' traditional position of leadership in the Boeotian league, and of its oligarchic and aristocratic political orientation. It also seems quite likely that he would

have heard of the recent and noted victory of the Boeotians against Athens at Coronea, which would have been of much interest to small states, in which the expansionist tendencies of larger and more powerful neighbors were closely watched. And the newly regained freedom of Boeotia would have raised the possibility of the need for political advice in the mind of a political sophisticate.

Thus, far from being an odd choice for a Pythagorean refugee, Thebes in fact turns out to have been a quite logical choice, and one which Lysis conceivably could have made on the basis of information readily available to him. It offered him the possibility of successful integration into a basically sympathetic society, for even though Thebes was a land-based oligarchy (and therefore, one might think, unreceptive to landless newcomers), Lysis possessed a special asset which he had every reason to believe would open doors for him in Thebes: his identity as a Pythagorean, and hence as a potential 'wise man', who would surely be honored in a community with similar religious tendencies (just as Pythagoras had been honored upon his arrival in Italy). And if the stories about his being the teacher of Epaminondas are true, he did in fact settle into Thebes in the role of honored teacher.

For information about the nature of the Pythagorean philosophy which developed in Thebes from this beginning, we have two sources, Plato's 'Phaedo' and the 'De genio Socratis' of Plutarch. Both have some claim on us as authorities, Plato because he was present in the last years of Socrates' life as a follower and must have known the Thebans in the Socratic circle, and Plutarch because he was a Boeotian himself, and thus may have had access to local traditions otherwise unknown to us.

PLATO'S 'PHAEDO'

In the 'Phaedo' Plato portrays two Thebans, Simmias and Cebes, as among the circle of Socrates' intimate acquaintances, and the two serve as the chief critics of Socrates' attempts to prove the immortality of the soul. Plato makes a point of referring to the pair as having heard Philolaos at Thebes (61D7). The Theban element in the dialogue is further underlined by scattered 'Thebisms': a rare occurrence of the use of a dialect form at 62A8; (4) the specific mention of Thebes in a form of address at 92A6-B4; Socrates' remark that his bones and sinews, left to themselves, would long ago have been in Megara (a well-known center of Eleatic philosophy) or Boeotia (98E5f.); and possibly the warning against misologia at 89D, a stock Athenian charge against the Thebans. (5)

When Plato disclaims personal knowledge of the events of the day of Socrates' death, saying that he was ill (59B), he is probably claiming a certain degree of creative leeway in his reconstruction of these events and especially of the conversation which was held (he may also have been answering critics of his absence). We are therefore justified in asking what effect he might have sought to create by his choice of the two Thebans as Socrates' sole partners in debate and by his emphasis on their Theban background and on their study with Philolaos, and why he might have sought this effect. Surely he has at least shaped and given form to the historical facts, even if he has not created them. The answer to the first part of this question is suggested by the tradition of the Pythagorean settlement in Thebes: he would have expected these factors to reinforce the Pythagorean background of the dialogue which he had already established in the frame conversation by his use of Echecrates of Phlious (Phlious was the home of the 'last Pythagoreans' according to Diogenes Laertes (8.46), and thus a known Pythagorean center in the fourth century when Plato was writing).

As Thebans, Simmias and Cebes are men who can be expected to be acquainted with Pythagorean ideas. Are they also to be identified as Pythagoreans themselves? Many scholars do so identify them, (6) but recently there has been a tendency to be more cautious about assuming this. Plato never explicitly identifies them as Pythagoreans, and although they have heard the Pythagorean teacher Philolaos, Cebes says he has heard 'nothing clear' about his teaching on suicide (61DE). While this is clearly a literary device allowing Socrates to offer an explanation to the reader within the dramatic context, it seems unlikely that Plato would have used such a device in disregard of its further implications. It is not so much a reflection on Cebes' deficiencies as a student, as some would have it, (7) as it is a characterization of the teaching of Philolaos and others at Thebes: Philolaos 'provided no clear "rationale" for his teaching'. (8) Of course, in any case, the passage offers no clue to the answer to the question whether Simmias and Cebes were Pythagoreans.

More important in determining whether to classify Simmias and Cebes as Pythagoreans is the fact that both men offer theories as counter-arguments which contradict the well-known Pythagorean belief in transmigration. Simmias suggests that the soul is a harmony of bodily parts (85E_{ff.}). If this is the case, it is not the sort of thing which could survive to migrate into another body. Cebes suggests an analogy between soul and body and

a weaver and his work: the soul weaves many bodies which it outlives, but eventually it dies, just as the weaver weaves many cloaks which he outlives, but eventually he dies (86Eff.). Such a soul might be said to transmigrate for a time, but its eventual death is not consistent with the Pythagorean theory of transmigration. The idea of the soul as a harmony, despite its incompatibility with the theory of transmigration, is clearly marked out by Plato as a theory which was sometimes entertained by Pythagoreans, for he has Echecrates confess to being attracted to it (88CD). The attraction was undoubtedly the superficial resemblance to the theory of the cosmos as a harmony of numbers. Burkert suggests that Plato may have been the first to point out the embarrassing contradiction inherent in these two theories, both of which were held by Pythagoreans. (9) The analogy of the weaver, however, is otherwise unknown (at least the idea of the soul doing its own weaving seems to be an innovation), (10) and bears no surface marks of Pythagorean origin. We should probably classify it as a counter-example created on the spot and attesting to Cebes' philosophical ability, for it bears exactly upon the weak point in Socrates' argument.

The aspect which is most un-Pythagorean about the arguments of Simmias and Cebes is not so much the exact content of their objections, but their skeptical spirit and their refusal to rest content with 'wisdom' unless that wisdom is accompanied by proof as well. This spirit is Socratic, and, in fact, far from Simmias and Cebes being identified as Pythagorean, more is made in the course of the dialogue of their acquaintance with Socratic teachings: they are portrayed as thoroughly familiar with the theory of Forms, (11) and, although Simmias does have some difficulty recollecting the theory of Recollection (the point of this may be just the punning self-referential joke itself, as well as the opening which it gives to Socrates for an explanation of the theory), it is Cebes who introduces the theory into the argument (72E). Elsewhere in the dialogues of Plato their identification as followers of Socrates is further attested. At 'Crito' 45B Simmias is said to be standing by with money ready to bribe the jailkeeper and help Socrates to escape, and Cebes is also said to be ready to help; Simmias is said to be extremely fond of philosophical discourse at 'Phaedrus' 242B; and Cebes is mentioned by Plato as one of his own friends in the 13th Epistle (363A). (12) Xenophon mentions both men as associates of Socrates; (13) even if he is drawing from the Platonic dialogues, this serves as a contemporary confirmation of the picture which

the dialogues present. Men who had much opportunity to become familiar with Pythagorean teachings, but who were not themselves committed to the sect, and whose wits had been sharpened for argument by association with Socrates, would provide the best sparring partners for Socrates in his attempts to prove the immortality of the soul. Throughout the dialogue they serve the purpose of raising sceptical objections and counter-arguments; Simmias says of Cebes that he is 'the most obstinate person in the world at resisting an argument' (77A8-9, tr. Tredennick).

In fact, the Pythagorean elements in the 'Phaedo' are introduced by Socrates himself, rather than by his two Theban companions, but these elements have undergone a Socratic reincarnation: it is the Socratic theory of Forms which provides the intellectual support for the doctrine of the transmigration of souls; the highest stage in the career of the transmigrating soul is reached by the soul of the philosopher in the Socratic sense of that word; and the Pythagorean/Orphic myths about the afterlife are permeated with Ionian science and turned toward ethical purposes. It seems that Plato had adopted a Pythagorean setting in order to demonstrate Socrates' transformation of the material of Pythagorean philosophy into an integral part of a new Socratic philosophy. Part of Plato's purpose in writing the 'Phaedo' thus may have been to clarify the contribution of Pythagoreanism to Socratic philosophy in general, and to the theory of Forms in particular. (14) The 'Clouds' of Aristophanes suggests that on a popular level at least opinion tended to blur any distinctions between Socratic philosophy and Pythagoreanism; Taylor has even proposed that the supposed Pythagoreanism of Socrates may have been the real grounds of the charges brought against Socrates. (15) Taylor finds that the 'Phaedo' presents just such a picture of a Socrates enmeshed in Pythagoreanism; on the contrary, I would suggest that the 'Phaedo' presents a defense against such charges, by portraying Socrates as drawing upon the Pythagorean tradition for his own purposes, but nevertheless standing essentially independent of it.

The question has been raised whether the Pythagorean elements which are here attributed to the philosophical environment in which Socrates worked really did belong to that environment - whether a Pythagoreanizing Socrates ever really existed to be defended, or whether, as Hackforth suggests, (16) Plato is adding a Pythagorean element to his Socrates which was alien to the historical Socrates. The best evidence for a Pythagoreanizing Socrates is to be found in the 'Clouds' of Aristophanes.

One may, of course, question the historicity of Aristophanes' Socrates, (17) but at least the portrait in the play proves that the Pythagorean/Orphic element was not a late addition foisted on to Socrates by Plato. The fact that the 'Clouds' confirms the 'Phaedo' on this point seems sufficient to rule out the hypothesis of Hackforth, and to confirm an historical Pythagoreanizing Socrates, although by no means a truly orthodox Pythagorean Socrates.

The 'Phaedo' tells us a little about the atmosphere at Thebes when Simmias remarks that most people think that philosophers, with their lack of concern for the joys of everyday life, really want to die, and that death is therefore quite suitable for them - and that the Thebans would agree most emphatically with that (64B). Burnet aptly remarks that, 'Probably we have here a reflection of the impression made by the Pythagorean refugees on the *bon vivants* of Thebes. The *philosophoi* would not appreciate Copaic eels and ducks'. (18) The dialogue also tells us something about the philosophical personalities of Simmias and Cebes. We have seen that Simmias could be accused of being forgetful or inattentive to philosophical issues, and at one point he is even shown to be guilty of maintaining two contradictory theories at the same time: the theory of Recollection and the theory of the soul as a harmony (92A). He also once shows an unphilosophic regard for divine revelation (85D). Cebes plays the more active role in the dialogue and is keener in argument: it is he who insists on the need for more proof of the soul's immortality (70A), who remembers and introduces the theory of Recollection and its proofs (72E), and who brings forward the counter-argument of the analogy of the weaver and his cloak to the soul and its body (87A). (19) On the whole, the two men are presented as intelligent and devoted to argument, although Cebes is clearly the more promising thinker; they exhibit a rather courageous degree of skepticism, given the fact that they are carrying on the negative side of the argument about immortality with a man on the brink of death (that they are not insensitive to this is made clear at 84D).

The thesis that Plato had a specific purpose in mind (to clarify the relationship between Socrates and Pythagoreanism) when he chose two Thebans to be the chief interlocutors of Socrates and in other ways stressed the Pythagorean element in the dialogue raises the question, to what extent have these considerations affected the historicity of the portrait which Plato draws of these two men? In arguing for the historical validity of the portrait, we must in the final analysis depend on an

argument from 'eikos', or probability: in real life we should expect them to have been somewhat similar to this Platonic portrait - intelligent, keen on argument, skeptical yet willing to listen, and ready in the recognition of a flaw in their opponent's case - or they would not have found a place among the members of the Socratic circle. Certainly, we would say, they could not have been doctrinaire Pythagoreans. But in believing this, are we simply providing living proof of the efficacy of Plato's art and drawing the conclusion which he intended his readers to draw? Perhaps we simply have been led, step by step, to a position at which we would affirm, 'Of course Socrates associated with Pythagoreans, in the sense that he associated with people who came from a Pythagorean background, but these men were not *real* Pythagoreans. The picture in the 'Clouds', and the popular notion of Socrates as a sort of Pythagorean, is quite misleading. Rather, he transformed Pythagorean ideas into Socratic philosophy.'

PLUTARCH'S 'DE GENIO SOCRATIS'

The only other large-scale picture of philosophy at Thebes is contained in the 'De genio Socratis' of Plutarch, a work of a Boeotian of the first and second centuries AD, neatly composed to echo and supplement the 'Phaedo'. (20) In it we re-encounter Simmias twenty years after the time of the 'Phaedo': he has followed the advice of Socrates to travel among the Greeks and barbarians (78A) and has at length returned to Thebes, a sort of Theban Socrates who sits, immobilized by a leg wound, while his friends gather around him to carry on a philosophical discussion on the brink of a great event. In the case of the 'De genio', the event is the liberation of Thebes from Spartan control, (21) and the subject of the discussion is the nature of the daimon of Socrates. Like the 'Phaedo', the work is a narrated dialogue, a dialogue embedded within a dialogue, and the main speech is crowned with a myth. Many small details show the care with which Plutarch has sought to link this continuation of the life of Simmias with the earlier work of Plato:

loosening of bandage/bonds on leg ('De gen.' 586A,
'Phaedo' 59Ef., 60Bf.)

reference to daimons at 'Phaedo' 107D parallels
discussion about the daimon of Socrates in the
'De genio'

dream offers material for consideration ('Phaedo' 60E,
'De gen.' 587A and 588D)

divine command to engage in the art of the Muses

('Phaedo' 60E, 'De gen.' 579A, C, D)

warning about misologia ('Phaedo' 89D, 'De gen.' 575E)

As the group discusses various subjects in the 'De genio', we get an idea of the sorts of topics which Plutarch pictured such philosophical discussions as including: the discoveries at the tomb of Alkmene, and the decipherment by Egyptian priests of an inscription which may have been the one found there (577Df.); the Delians' request to Plato for aid in doubling the altar at Delos (579B-D); the search for the tomb of Dirke and an account of the ancient Theban custom which preserved its secrecy (578BC). Finally, spurred by the arrival of a Pythagorean visitor, Theanor, the discussion turns to the topic of divination, particularly appropriate for Thebans with their many oracles, and in particular, to the nature of the sign of Socrates. After others have made their contributions, Simmias offers the principal explanation, resorting in Platonic fashion to a myth (the consultation of the Boeotian oracle of Trophonius by Timarchus). Theanor's entry also provides an opportunity to recount the reason for the presence in Thebes of the Pythagorean Lysis: the story is told of the burning of the Pythagorean meeting-house at Metapontum (a divergence from the tradition according to Aristoxenus which will be discussed below), the escape of Lysis and Philolaos, and the eventual arrival of Lysis at Thebes. Theanor's mission is to offer libations at the tomb of Lysis, to repay Epaminondas' father for his care of Lysis, and, if the burial has not been carried out properly, to take the remains back to Italy. Pythagoreanism has taken sound root at Thebes, however: the payment is turned down by Polymnis with a proper philosophic preference for poverty, and Theanor can report that he need not disturb the burial, for the Pythagorean rites have been carried out properly and Lysis' soul has been released to a new rebirth.

All of this provides us with a picture of the philosophical scene in Thebes in the period following the death of Socrates, as portrayed by Plutarch in the first century AD. This picture shows a group of men who meet to discuss both political and 'philosophical' topics, with the philosophical discussions centering upon what we should perhaps prefer to call religious matters: Corlu in his edition suggests that 'On doit entendre "logois kai philosophia" au sens large de controverses intellectuelles'. (22) Although Simmias' account contains some elements of a theory of sense perception (588Aff.), on the whole it is mystical. In this it is not untrue to

the picture of philosophy in the late fifth century as Plato presents it, or at least to one side of this picture; however, it lacks the hard-edged, keen intellectual analysis which we also find in Plato's portrait of Socrates (and in Cebes' persistent questioning of Socrates). Perhaps the Pythagoreans themselves lacked this intellectual quality, or at least the majority of them did; it may be that this is exactly what one should have expected of a satellite group of Pythagoreans in the early fourth century: political machinations and mystical musings. Yet it is also possible that this is only the way in which Plutarch, assisted by his knowledge of Plato's writings and influenced by the interests of his own day, imagined the philosophical scene in Thebes in the early fourth century.

To some extent, the question of Plutarch's purposes in writing the 'De genio' bears upon this question of authenticity. Plutarch himself signals at least a part of his purpose early in the work when he speaks of the ancient reproach against the Boeotians of misologia, a reproach which was dying out because of Theban philosophical activity. (23) Most scholars are agreed that it was at least in part in order to combat this reproach that the work was composed in the way in which it was, with philosophical dialogue interwoven into the story of the liberation: Plutarch is concerned to show his countrymen as thoughtful men who combined courage in battle with interest in and sensitivity to topics of intellectual interest. (24) Thus we can be fairly sure that he did not purposely present a false picture in which the religious element outweighed the intellectual element, but that he truly believed that these were the sorts of topics which would have been discussed among philosopher-statesmen. He could still have been mistaken, and he could have been misled by the way in which philosophy was conceived in the first century AD, but it seems likely that he intended to present an authentic picture.

Is there anything else that the dialogue can contribute which may provide independent evidence about the Theban philosophical scene and help in deciding upon the degree of authenticity which we should accord to Plutarch's picture? There are three possibilities: the story of Charillos and the pigs (580D-F); the reports of travels of Simmias with Plato (578A-579D); and the information about the history of the Pythagorean presence in Thebes.

The little story about Charillos and the pigs, told by the mantis Theokritos, (25) is the sort of tale which might have been passed down in a family tradition. Theokritos had been visiting Euthyphro (also a mantis) and

was present while Socrates was questioning Euthyphro. Simmias and Charillos the flute-player, who had accompanied Theokritos to Athens to visit Cebes, were among the group as well, walking to the Symbolon. Suddenly Socrates stopped short in one of his trances; when he recovered, he said that the sign had come to him, and he turned back. Most of the group turned back with him, but some, including Charillos, went on, only to be met by a herd of muddy swine which knocked down some of the group and muddled them all. Despite the possible inspiration from the 'Euthyphro', there is nothing inherently implausible in the story (although a connection with the famous Boeotian pig might be suspected); neither, however, does the story offer much in the way of information about philosophical activities, except to confirm the presence of Thebans in the Socratic circle, and to widen the circle to include names otherwise unattested.

The story of the travels of Simmias with Plato is more ambitious, and also more questionable. That Plato himself made a trip to Egypt is probable, though not provable. (26) The presence of Simmias on such a trip is much more suspicious, however; it is not attested elsewhere, and such travels were traditionally attributed to philosophers. Finally, it serves the clear purpose of enhancing the philosophical status of the Theban Simmias and therefore of Thebes itself, one of the purposes of the work. Under these circumstances, we do not seem justified in according the story much weight.

Finally, there is material in the 'De genio' about the history of the Pythagorean presence in Thebes. In his account of the aftermath of the expulsion of the Pythagoreans from Italy, Plutarch tells us that only Lysis and Philolaos escaped from the burning meeting-house at Metapontum, and that Philolaos escaped to Lucania and from there reached survivors of attacks against Pythagoreans in other Italian cities, who at once re-grouped to oppose the attackers. Lysis, however, escaped to Thebes, and nothing had been known of him among the Pythagoreans in Italy until the sophist and rhetorician Gorgias brought back word, probably in 427 (583AB). (27) Lysis died and was buried at Thebes; he was the teacher of Epaminondas, whose father, Polymnis, had supported him in his old age and had overseen the performance of proper Pythagorean burial rites for him (583C). We can assume that in the first century AD he was remembered as the focus and source of philosophical activity and interest in fifth-century Thebes, and probably that his burial place was known. We need to ask, to what extent does this tradition agree with other

evidence about the same events, and to what extent does it agree with the situation in the 'Phaedo'?

The earliest and most reliable account of the events of the Pythagorean holocaust is that of Aristoxenus, recounted by Iamblichus. (28) Plutarch deviates from the account of Aristoxenus in two matters: he gives the location of the holocaust as Metapontum rather than Croton, and he says that Lysis and Philolaos survived, while Aristoxenus says that it was Lysis and Archippos. As Delatte pointed out, the former variation would have been a natural one resulting from a confusion caused by reports of trouble breaking out in several Italian cities, and from the fact that Metapontum was perhaps the best known Pythagorean center. (29) The latter difference is also explained by Delatte as the substitution (probably while working from memory) of a more celebrated name for one that was almost unknown; Delatte, however, also suggests that this was a useful substitution, since Philolaos' travels in Greece would thereby also be explained. The problem with that reasoning is that Plutarch seems in fact to be denying Philolaos any travels in Greece, rather than wishing to explain them. He makes certain points very emphatically:

- 1 Philolaos did not go to Thebes after the holocaust, but stayed in Italy, rallying the scattered Pythagorean survivors and overseeing a resumption of political activity which took place almost immediately.
- 2 Lysis was responsible for the Pythagorean education of Polymnis and his son Epaminondas, and presumably of other Thebans as well.
- 3 Gorgias took word back about Lysis' survival; Aresas was concerned but unable to take any immediate action in contacting him; eventually an individual named Theanor, and not Philolaos, came to pay homage to Lysis' grave (Theanor may be fictitious, but the point is that for Plutarch the individual is not Philolaos but someone else). There is nothing about Philolaos.

In contrast, Plato speaks of Philolaos, but not of Lysis, when he questions Simmias and Cebes about their philosophical background ('Phaedo' 61DE). Could it be that Plutarch is correcting Plato, feeling that he did not do justice to the memory and activity of Lysis as the teacher of Thebes in philosophy? (30) If this is not the case, then he has made a very strange error: throughout the 'De genio' he has carefully followed the 'Phaedo' as a paradigm, yet he has forgotten the significant point that Plato never mentions Lysis but does mention Philolaos. It seems unlikely that Plutarch would have forgotten a name present in his prototype, especially when he recalls

more insignificant details, and unwittingly transformed Plato's 'Philolaos' into 'Lysis'. It is more likely that Plutarch was correcting Plato on the basis of local tradition, and that he felt that Philolaos was a non-historical addition of Plato's to the Theban scene. Whether Plutarch was right or not is a question which will be considered below.

CONCLUSIONS

Now that we have considered the major sources of information about the philosophical scene in fifth-century Thebes, what conclusions can we draw from them?

First of all, it seems reasonable to accept a Pythagorean presence in Thebes, consisting of at least Lysis, with the pupils he was able to attract, from some time shortly after mid-century. Aristoxenus bears witness to this, and he is considered to be a reliable authority for questions of chronology and the identification of individual participants in events; moreover, he had access to good sources of information: his father knew Socrates, (31) and he himself also claimed to have known Pythagoreans at Phlious, including Echecrates (DL 8.46). His report is supported by the statement of Alcidamas that when the leading men of Thebes became philosophers the city became prosperous, (32) and by the assumption of Plato's 'Phaedo' of such a presence as part of the background of the dialogue.

As far as the presence of Philolaos is concerned, the situation is not quite so clear. 'Phaedo' 61DE implies this, but it could have been a literary fiction which Plato added to bolster recognition of Thebes as Pythagorean (if any of his readers did not understand that the general background of Simmias and Cebes was Pythagorean, a reference to Philolaos would have made this more clear), and Plutarch's apparently deliberate omission of his name raises a question. Two points may be made in support of Plato, however, which appear to turn the balance in his favor. He seems to have written the 'Phaedo' after his first trip to Italy, (33) where he saw Philolaos, according to Diogenes Laertius (DL 3.6); and the 'last of the Pythagoreans' of Phlious (among them Echecrates) are named by Aristoxenus as disciples of Philolaos whom he had himself known. If Philolaos taught in Phlious, it is likely that he would have made at least a visit to the Pythagorean community in Thebes, and if Plato visited Philolaos in Italy, he would have had a first-hand source for his information. (34) There is always the possibility

that over the centuries a brief visit by Philolaos to Thebes would have slipped out of Theban tradition, which had as its main interest the enhancement of Lysis, the teacher of Epaminondas, and that Plutarch, following a tradition which no longer remembered Philolaos, would have felt called upon to correct Plato in order to give due respect to Lysis.

Another difficulty is an apparent disparity between the portraits of Simmias which are presented by Plato and Plutarch. Plato is the earlier and better source, but his interest in downplaying the extent to which the Socratic circle was really Pythagorean may have led him to portray a more secular and skeptical Simmias than was actually the case; on the other hand, Plutarch also is concerned to present a certain picture (Simmias as the Theban Socrates), and he had the additional disability of having to rely wholly upon tradition, which was unlikely to have preserved a picture of Simmias as skeptic and heretic. Perhaps it is unnecessary and unfair to the genre of these two works to defend the historical accuracy of their character portrayals; however, it is interesting that one can reconcile the two portraits by appealing to the twenty-year difference in their dramatic dates: Simmias, less intellectually keen than Cebes, may have become more sympathetic to Pythagoreanism as a faith once he was separated from the influence of Socrates. At 'Phaedo' 85D he does refer to a 'logos theios' as a safer harbor than proof, and perhaps he later felt that he had found such a harbor; it is also interesting that it is Cebes who is mentioned in the 13th Epistle as a member of the Platonic circle. Whatever choice we may make as to the philosophical personality of Simmias, however, we are still left with a Theban Pythagoreanism which is basically mystico-religious in orientation: this is clear in the choice of subject matter in the 'De genio', and Plato supports it when he mentions the teaching about suicide of Philolaos and others at Thebes, but says nothing about mathematical or scientific teachings or activity. There is perhaps an additional clue to a mystico-religious bent in Theban Pythagoreanism when Plato suggests that Philolaos did not provide a rational foundation for his teaching. All these are very slight clues to the nature of Theban Pythagoreanism, but at least they are consistent. They are also consistent with the reconstruction of pre-Platonic Pythagoreanism derived by Burkert from sources other than the 'Phaedo' and the 'De genio'. (35) In the case of the 'Phaedo', this agreement can be taken as further support for Burkert's interpretation, while in the case of the 'De

genio' it seems to be more a matter of historical accident, for the psychological needs of the first century, leading as they did to a search for a superhuman wisdom, brought Pythagoreanism full circle back again to its origins.

6 The Muses

The early Greeks closely connected music and poetry in the concept of the Muses. The rhythm of music and poetic meter aided in preserving traditional stories, genealogies, and other 'historical' materials in memory before writing came into use. Even after the introduction of writing, poetry continued to be the predominant form of literary expression in mainland Greece until the fifth century, when prose came into more widespread use (in Ionia experiments with prose began with the philosophers of the sixth century and the geographer and chronicler Hecataeus, who died early in the fifth century). The close connection between music and song remained, however, despite alterations in traditional forms in some places, such as Athens. In conservative Thebes, the connection remained virtually unchallenged. Poetry, especially choral poetry, continued to be the form for the preservation and transmission of traditional lore, and provided also, for some, a vehicle for innovation. The victory odes of the Theban poet Pindar remain today almost complete as some of the greatest products of the Greek poetic genius; these are intricate creations which interweave contemporary and mythological references and philosophical comment in a brilliant display of verbal ingenuity. Of Pindar's many other poetic works - hymns, choral dithyrambs, processional songs, maiden songs, dance songs, encomia, party songs, and dirges - only fragments remain, but these fragments attest to the importance of various forms of poetry and song in the life of Thebes. Fragments of the work of other poets are also extant, especially of the works of the woman poet Corinna, a native of Boeotian Tanagra, but a participant in the Theban poetic scene. Her poems were composed in the Boeotian dialect, and this, together with their style and the fragmentary character of the remains, makes interpretation difficult, but, as we

shall see, they still offer important evidence, especially about the participation of women in poetic composition.

Verbal expression was, however, not the only form which the work of the Muses took in Thebes. While no drama of the Athenian form developed, we see in the Kabeirion vases evidence for a probable continuation of traditional dramatic expression. In addition, a lively tradition of Theban skill in instrumental music, especially in flute playing, is reflected in our sources.

THE FLUTE

Greece judges Thebes to be victor with the flute.

(Dio Chrysostom, 'Orat.' vii (I.136 ed. Dindorf))

According to Dio Chrysostom, the statue of Hermes bearing this inscription was the only monument which the Thebans were concerned about restoring after the destruction of their city in the fourth century. This story epitomizes the ancient tradition of Theban musical interest, a tradition, moreover, which upon closer examination turns out to have a history of its own and to tell us more about the fifth century BC than one would at first expect.

Plutarch explains the Theban esteem for the flute as a result of a deliberate attempt by the Theban legislators to temper the manners and character of the youth. (1) This explanation, however, is suspiciously similar to theories about the ethical effects of music of the sort which Plato attributes to Damon. (2) The theories of Damon, who was a generation younger than Socrates, were too late to have had the necessary effect on Theban legislators, whom we should place in the archaic period with other noted Greek legislators. They did, however, color the thinking of Plato, and, through him or independently, could easily have led Plutarch to draw this conclusion. Flute-playing, moreover, is linked by Plutarch with a second device also purportedly introduced to soften the Theban youth, homosexuality, and this alleged purpose, too, sounds suspiciously late. Aristocratic homosexuality was traditionally thought to increase the fighting capabilities of the youth, rather than to soften him. A shift in the way of thinking about homosexuality is first evidenced in the late fifth century in Athens (this will be discussed further below). In fact, the whole idea of a legislative tempering and softening makes the passage suspicious. Hardening rather than softening was likely to have been the aim of an early legislator (compare this with Herodotus' story of the deliberate softening of the Lydians by Cyrus, which



1 Theban coin, Heracles with club and bow, British Museum



2 Stele of Pindar, Antikenmuseum und Skulpturhalle Basel



3 Grave relief of knight, courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Pierce Fund, Purchase of E. P. Warren



4 (*left*) Stele of Amphotto, Athens National Museum



5 (*right*) Stele of Polyxena, Staatliche Museen, Berlin



6 Stele of Mnason, Thebes Museum



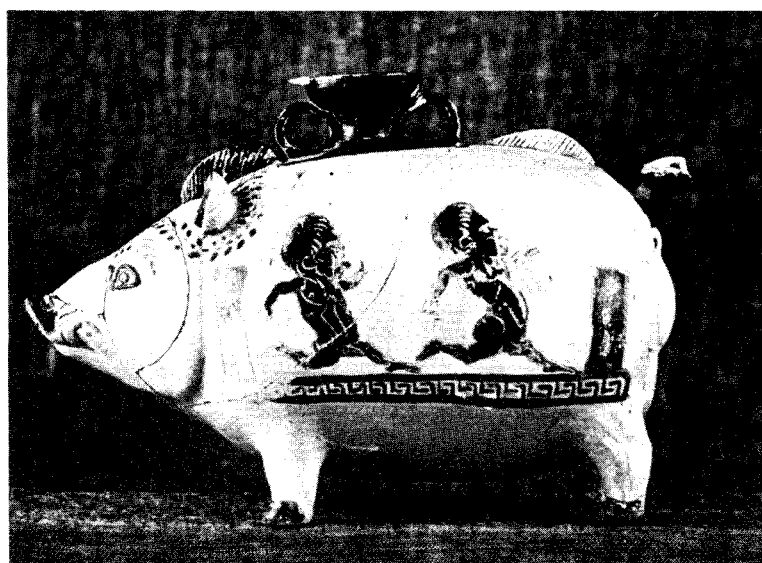
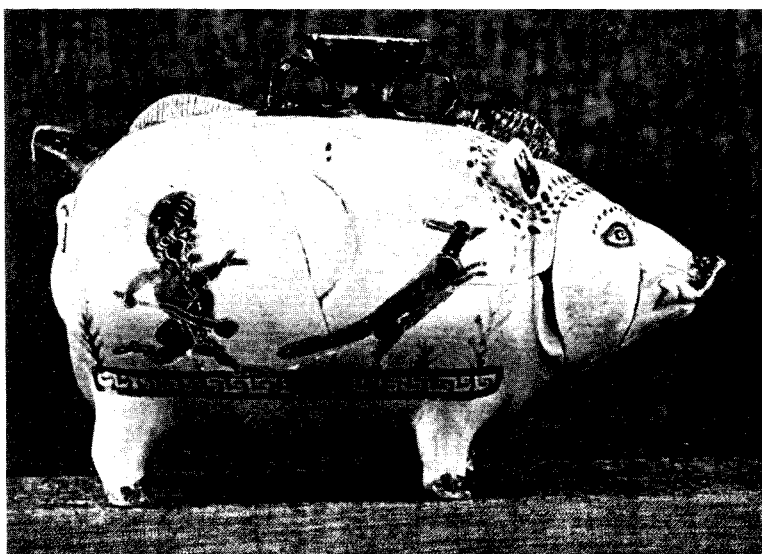
7 Scene from Judgment of Paris Painter, Berlin, Altes Museum



8 Woman's head vase lid, Bowdoin College Museum



9 Motifs from Kabeirion vases, Wolters-Bruns, *Die Kabirenheiligtum bei Theben*, pl. 27, courtesy Deutsches Archaeologisches Institut



10 Pig askos, Museo Archeologico, Reggio Calabria

presents such tempering as a useful device for a conqueror whose aim is to prevent the revolt of a conquered people). (3)

It is tempting to attribute Theban interests in the flute to the presence of swamps and reeds suitable for the construction of the instrument near the city. (4) This explanation, however, would not account for the fact that the early musical tradition of Thebes does not portray the flute as a specially Theban instrument. The music which is embedded in the foundation legends, and which attests to an early Theban interest in music, centers not on the native flute but on the lyre and the imported Lydian mode. Pausanias records the tradition that Amphion learned the Lydian mode from the Lydians, and that he also made an improvement upon the lyre, adding three strings to the existing four (one was named after one of the famed Seven Gates of Thebes, the Neistan). His songs drew beasts and even stones after him, an ability which he utilized in building the lower walls of the city. In fact, Pausanias was even shown the stones which had followed Amphion's singing. (5)

Another legendary musical figure claimed by Thebes who also had no connection with the flute was Linus. (6) Nor was the invention of the flute attributed to the Thebans, at least according to Pindar's account of its mythological origins in 'Pythian' 12: Athena invented it, or at least its music and 'techne', although reeds from the river Cephissus provided its material. (7) Pindar, a Theban himself, also attributes his own musical method, the combining of voice and flute in a harmony, not to the invention of a Theban but of an Epizephyrian Locrian. (8) He refers to the use of the flute as an accompaniment for his own songs several times, but usually in conjunction with the lyre, (9) and nothing indicates that he saw it as a characteristically Theban instrument. In fact, it is only in non-Theban sources of the fifth century or later that we find reflections of Theban specialization in flute-playing. From earlier times, and from Thebes itself, we find a tradition and references which point to Theban interest in music in general, but not especially in the flute.

The earliest source which connects Thebans with the flute is Plato, who has Socrates use a Theban, Orthagoras, as an example of a teacher of flute-playing in the 'Protagoras' (318C). Later sources name earlier flutists, but the references amount to little. Theophrastus mentions a Theban named Kleolas who followed the lead of Andron of Catana in accompanying his flute-playing with bodily movements, but his achievement was secondary and

imitative and his date is unknown (ap. Athenaeus 1.22C). A certain Klonas, composer of songs sung to the flute before the time of Archilochus and claimed by both Tegea and Thebes, is mentioned by pseudo-Plutarch. (10) Skopelinus is named as an uncle (or father) and flute-teacher of Pindar, (11) but the preservation of his name may owe more to his famous relative Pindar than to his own outstanding abilities as a flutist.

The first really significant Theban contribution to the art of flute-playing is attributed to Pronomos, who lived in the second half of the fifth century and is also named as a teacher of Alcibiades. (12) He is said to have enlarged the potential of the instrument by the invention of a single flute on which Dorian, Lydian and Phrygian modes could all be played. (13) His success with his famous pupil Alcibiades was limited, however, as we shall see below.

The late date of the references to Theban excellence with the flute and the lack of any mythological reflections of an early special relationship with the instrument suggest that the Thebans' reputation as flutists par excellence may have been developed only in the fifth century. It may even be significantly correlative with an Athenian loss of interest in the instrument. (14) Although the flute had been popular in Athens until about mid-century, it lost its popularity as an instrument of the aristocracy there during the second half of the century. Plutarch attributes this decline in popularity to Alcibiades, who as a boy set an example for the other boys by refusing to learn to play the flute. According to the story, the precocious boy argued that playing the flute distorted his face and prevented him from talking - it would be better to leave flute-playing to the Thebans, who had no talent for conversation anyway. (15) A similar rationale, but without specific reference to Thebes, occurs in the story about Athena throwing away the flute after inventing it, because it distorted her face. (16) Athena's rejected instrument was picked up by Marsyas, who challenged Apollo to a musical contest. Inevitably Marsyas lost, and he was flayed by Apollo as a punishment for the challenge. (17) Plutarch has Alcibiades refer to both these stories in support of his own position: these special patrons of Athens, Athena and Apollo, set an example justifying his own rejection of the flute. Pronomos must have been happy to be rid of such a pupil, but Plato followed his lead in argument when, in rejecting flute-playing in his ideal city, he also appealed to the victory of Apollo over Marsyas ('Rep.' 399DE).

As far as we can determine, Athena's negative attitude first appeared in Athens in the second half of the fifth century. The version of the story of Athena's invention of the flute in which she appears with a positive attitude to the instrument is found much earlier, in Pindar's 'Pythian' 12, composed for Midas of Akragas, winner of the prize for flute-playing at the Pythian games in 490 and 486 BC. Lest we should think that Pindar was warping mythology to favor the interests of his client, it must be pointed out that a similar positive attitude on Athena's part occurs also in the work of the seventh-century Dorian poet Alcman and in the fragments of Corinna, (18) where Athena is credited with teaching Apollo to play the instrument. These sources appear to involve an earlier, non-Athenian version of the story, and the conclusion is tempting that someone in fifth-century Athens made a conscious decision to de-emphasize the instrument and to reformulate the mythology of its discovery. Michaelis has argued persuasively that that person was Euripides. (19) The motivation of his reformulation was Athenian rivalry with and jealousy of Thebes. (20)

It is possible that in a correlative development the Athenians were also responsible for enlarging on the Thebans' abilities with the instrument and creating the Thebans' special reputation as flutists. Several factors, however, suggest that the Thebans' reputation was in fact deserved. First in time was, of course, Pindar, whose songs were performed to the music of flute and lyre, and whose fame and success must have spurred rivals and imitators. This increased poetic activity would have provided increased opportunities for flutists, and in such a situation one can expect an upsurge in proficiency. That such was the case is suggested by the appearance of Pronomos, whose invention greatly extended the capabilities of the instrument. Finally, there is the arrival in the city in about mid-century of the refugee Pythagorean Lysis. The Pythagoreans were noted as flutists, and Philolaos, the most well-known of the refugees, was named in the tradition as a flutist. (21) He must have contributed to the Theban musical scene, along with his fellow Pythagoreans. Plutarch tells of a flute-player, Charillos, who was among the philosophical Thebans who visited Socrates, and so we can see that the tradition lived on ('De gen. Soc.' 580EF).

PINDAR AND CORINNA

For us, Theban interests in music, in the wider Greek

sense of that word, are most vividly illustrated in the fifth century by poetry, especially the poetry of Pindar. We do know of another Theban male poet, Cleon (Athen. I.19Bf.). None of his works survives, but, unlike Pindar, he had a bronze statue set up in his honor in Thebes, probably the one mentioned by Pliny which was made by Pythagoras of Rhegium ('HN' 34.59). Pythagoras appears to date to about the third quarter of the fifth century, (22) so we may infer that this Cleon was a near contemporary of Pindar, perhaps somewhat younger. It is likely that he also wrote victory odes: Pythagoras himself was noted for his statues of Olympic victors, and he might have come to know Cleon through their mutual interest in these men.

Aside from Pindar and Cleon, our other evidence for the Theban poetic scene involves women. One of these is Corinna of Tanagra, who, according to tradition, competed with Pindar and defeated him. (23) In one of these fragments she finds fault with another woman poet, Myrtis, because she entered into competition with Pindar (of this more later).

Although Pindar had no bronze statue erected in his honor, the funeral stele of a poet dated to the third quarter of the fifth century has been identified as the stele of Pindar (24) (see Plate 3).

Because music and poetry were an intrinsic part of the life of a Greek city, it is not surprising that we can find reflections in the work of poets of various aspects of this life. The poetry of Pindar which was composed for Thebans reveals a good deal about the religious beliefs and worship of the city, and the life-style and values of the wealthy segment of society for which it was created. Pindar is especially useful in giving us insight into the ideas and ideals of the Theban male aristocracy, since he reiterated throughout the odes composed for his fellow citizens the aristocratic code of values. He tells us that he himself was a member of the family of the Aigeidai ('P.' 5), (25) but even apart from this the identification of the values as aristocratic would be secure, for they are expressed with great consistency throughout these odes which were composed for his aristocratic patrons. Moreover, we can see a continuity with aristocratic values as these are presented in Homer, and also with later expressions, such as that which Thucydides puts into the mouth of Alcibiades. (26) This code was, of course, not uniquely Theban; it was subscribed to by Pindar's aristocratic patrons throughout the Greek world - in Magna Graecia, mainland Greece, Cyrene - and it formed one of the ties which bound Thebes to the rest of this world.

The code for which Pindar acts as spokesman is simple and straightforward. Wealth is not to be kept hidden within the house but is to be used, lavishly, for a number of noble purposes: (27) to gain victory in the games, with all that that involves (horse breeding and training, training of the man himself for some contests, the support of trainers, travel to and participation in many contests); to celebrate and immortalize that victory, (28) preferably by commissioning a Pindaric ode; to practise hospitality on as grand a scale as possible; (29) to sacrifice lavishly to the gods, (30) and to defend one's city in time of war (31) and support it in time of peace (as all those do who win victories and adorn public festivals with poetry). If wealth is obtained justly and used without *hybris* in this manner, (32) then a man has done all that is humanly possible; beyond this lie the incalculable alterations of fate and the actions of the gods. Yet even in reverses of fortune there is an aristocratic posture to be maintained: one carries on. An excellent illustration of all this is to be found in 'Isthmian' 4, composed for Melissos of Thebes, whose family was an old and honored one in the city. By a sudden turn of fortune this family has been devastated by the loss of four members in a single day, yet Melissos continued to strive for honor and was able to gain a victory which brought back the old fame and revived the house. A similar call to 'carry on', this time addressed by the poet to himself, is found in 'Isthmian' 8, which we considered earlier for its expression of Theban reaction to defeat in the Persian Wars:

.... and thereto I also, grieved though I be
 at heart, ask leave to call
 the Golden Muse. Slipped free of great sorrows,
 let us not fall into desolation of garlands;
 cherish not your grief.... (lines 5-8, tr. Lattimore)

From the details of the aristocratic ideal which we gather from Pindar, we can catch a glimpse of the everyday life of the Theban upper class males, a life which they shared with aristocrats in many different Greek cities. Wealth involved large family landholdings, which supplied the means to feed workers who could free family members for training and participating in contests, a training which would at the same time provide preparedness for war. These contests included not only the four great Panhellenic games at Delphi, Nemea, the Isthmus and Olympia, but also lesser games such as those held at Thebes itself, Athens, and Arcadia. There were also purely local games in the smaller towns. The victories of Diagoras of Rhodes give some indication of the time and

travel which could be involved (and these do not include contests in which he participated but did not win a victory):

With flowers from that contest [games of Tlepolemus in Rhodes], twice hath Diagoras crowned himself, and at the famous Isthmus four times, in his good fortune; and again and again, at Nemea and at rocky Athens; while he is not unknown to the shield of bronze in Argos, and the works of art given as prizes in Arcadia and at Thebes, and to the duly ordered contests amid the Boeotians, and to Pellana, and to Aegina, where he was six times victor, while in Megara the reckoning on the tablet of stone telleth no other tale.
(*'Olympian'* 7.80-7, tr. Sandys)

With the addition of wild game, which seems to have been plentiful in Thebes, (33) the estate would also supply a hospitable table for guests. For some there was sufficient land to support horses and the expensive practice of chariot racing: Herodotus son of Asopodoros had won many chariot victories before the one celebrated in *'Isthmian'* 1; (34) the family of Melissos had a long history of participation in such contests before he himself won at Nemea; (35) and a member of the family of Thrasydaios had been victor in the chariot races. (36) According to Fragment 95, (37) the Thebans excelled at chariot-making, which suggests that many Thebans were wealthy enough to partake of this sport.

The size of the family holding was crucial in providing the resources necessary for the preservation of this aristocratic life style which combined the honors of peacetime games and the glories to be won in war. The legal framework which maintained these holdings was provided by some of the laws made for the Thebans by the Corinthian Philolaos, whose laws of adoption, according to Aristotle, were intended to preserve unchanged the number of lots. (38)

The display involved in participation in contests, the commissioning of victory odes, and the entertainment of friends (and poets) naturally predominate in the odes of Pindar, since most of them were composed to celebrate a victory in the games. We also, however, see another form of aristocratic expenditure reflected in Pindar's work in Fragment 84, a *'Daphnephorikon'* composed for Aioladas, the father of Pagondas, victor at Delion. This song was sung by a young girl in the ceremony in which Agasikles, Pagondas' son, was installed as Daphnephoros. In singing it, the girl invited the procession (of which she was a member) to begin. The song is very much family oriented, although the ceremony is a public one. It seems that the

procession was made up mainly if not entirely of family members (much as the 'Partheneion' of Alcman is sung by a chorus of related girls), (39) and several are mentioned by name. The emphasis on a single family during a public ceremony may seem surprising at first, until we recall the degree to which what we would call the state was inextricably bound up with the lives of its principal families, which provided the city with its officials, military leaders, religious personnel, the wherewithal for civic celebrations, and even the ties of foreign relations. These families were often even assimilated into the mythological history of the city (Melissos claimed to be akin to the Labdakidai in 'Isthmian' 3.17). Thus the line between civic and public events and family events probably was never clearly drawn, at least for the great families. (40)

Aristotle recognized this situation, in which the state was in essence no more than a network of family groups, as a stage in the general development of the Greek state:

But when several families are united, and the association aims at something more than the supply of daily needs, the first society to be formed is the village. And the most natural form of the village appears to be that of a colony from the family, composed of the children and grandchildren who are said to be 'suckled with the same milk.' And this is the reason why Hellenic states were originally governed by kings; because the Hellenes were under royal rule [the family] before they came together, as the barbarians still are. Every family is ruled by the eldest, and therefore in the colonies of the family the kingly form of government prevailed because they were of the same blood. As Homer says: 'Each one gives law to his children and to his wives.' ('Pol.' 1252b15ff., tr. McKeon)

Aristotle called this early stage the village; it was followed by the state-proper:

When several villages are united in a single complete community, large enough to be nearly or quite self-sufficing, the state comes into existence, originating in the bare needs of life, and continuing in existence for the sake of a good life. ('Pol.' 1252b25ff., tr. McKeon)

Recently this distinction between stages of development in the community has been revived, with the use of new terminology borrowed from anthropology: today the tribal state (or stage of development, or consciousness) is contrasted with the civic state, and it is recognized that in Greece the tribal stage was not only monarchical, but

extended also into the period of oligarchical rule. The oligarchic state was still a tribal state. (41) Thebes was still a tribal state in the fifth century.

The major co-operative state activity in fifth-century Thebes, which was the attempt to consolidate and control a relatively loose confederation of states linked by land communications rather than by sea, did not require the sorts of changes which were liable to upset this tribal orientation. Unlike Athens, whose sea empire created new requirements which the old system could not provide without fundamental changes, Thebes' land empire required no large-scale shipbuilding programs, no fleet to be manned, no new bureaucracy to be created. Thus in Thebes no vastly increased urbanization occurred, which would create a break with the tribal past for the average citizen. Control of a land confederation required basically only an army, and the old tribal organization readily supplied this without a wrenching jolt to traditional values.

An aspect of the male aristocratic way of life which has recently received considerable attention is the tradition of homosexual relations between men. (42) Again Pindar offers evidence, in the fragment for Theoxenos of Tenedos:

Right it were, fond heart, to cull love's blossom in due season, in life's prime; but whosoever, when once he hath seen the rays flashing from the eyes of Theoxenus, doth not swell with desire, his black heart, with its frozen flame, hath been forged of adamant or of iron; and, unhonored of brightly glancing Aphrodite, he either toileth over hoarded wealth, or, with a woman's courage, is borne along enslaved to a path that is utterly cold.

But I, for the sake of that Queen of love, like the wax of the holy bees that is melted beneath the heat of the sun, waste away when I look at the young limbs of blooming boys. Thus I ween that even in Tenedos Suasion and Charm dwelt in the soul of the son of Hagesilas. (Fragment 108 (Bowra), tr. Sandys)

The tradition of aristocratic homosexuality was an old and especially honored one in Thebes. Plutarch, himself a Boeotian, links Boetians with Spartans and Cretans as those Greeks who were most susceptible to love, as well as being most warlike. (43) This link between homosexuality and military valor is again to be found in Plutarch when he describes the Theban custom according to which the lover presented the beloved with a set of armor upon his official coming-of-age. (44) Heracles and his friend Iolaos provided powerful role models for young Thebans, who had a custom of taking lovers' vows on

the tomb of Iolaos. (45) Xenophon complains about the physical nature of Theban attachments between men and boys. (46) Similarly, Pausanias in Plato's 'Symposium' says that the Boeotians have a simple law about love: it is always right for the lover to have his way (182B).

A semi-official stamp seems to have been put upon the practice of homosexuality in Thebes by the story that the lovers Diokles and Philolaos the Bacchiad fled to Thebes to escape the incestuous attentions of Philolaos' mother. Not only were they welcomed into the city, but Philolaos was sufficiently revered to be chosen to serve as a lawgiver. Aristotle, who tells this story, also mentions some of Philolaos' laws dealing with adoption. (47) It is possible that some of his other laws encouraged homosexual relationships, or at least had that practical effect. Plutarch says that it was Theban lawgivers who introduced the practice; (48) as we saw earlier in this chapter, the rationale which Plutarch gives for this is suspect, but it may still reflect in a slightly distorted fashion some aspect of Theban law.

The contrast between fifth-century Athens as a civic state, and fifth-century Thebes as a tribal state finds reflections also in the contrasting attitude toward the aristocratic practice of male homosexuality in these two cities. In Athens it appears that an analytical reassessment of the proper nature of the homosexual relationship took place late in the century in the Socratic circle. Evidence for this reassessment is to be found in Plato's 'Phaedrus' and 'Symposium', as well as in Xenophon and Euripides.

In Plato's 'Symposium', Phaedrus (178CD) and Pausanias (184D) present the traditional view of the lover as teacher of 'arete', while Socrates offers in contrast a new, idealistic, 'Platonic' relationship. In the 'Phaedrus', and in 'Republic' 403A-C, Socrates is again portrayed speaking for his new interpretation. We also see the same idea in Xenophon's 'Symposium' (8.32ff.), where the opinion that homosexuality fosters courage is again ascribed to Pausanias, while Socrates rejects the thesis, saying that men display distrust and not courage when they insist on staying beside their lovers in battle. Xenophon's commendation of Spartan love as fraternal and paternal, in contrast to the sensual relationships customary in other states, is still another expression of this reinterpretation of the aristocratic homosexual relationship. (49) The idea seems to have appeared in Euripides' plays as well, for we find in the 'Dictys' (50) an advocacy of comradeship rather than sex, while Aelian claimed that Euripides invented the

story of Laios' disgraceful behavior as the origin of the Theban practice. (51)

Plato in his latest work rejected homosexuality altogether, which was perhaps the logical culmination of the earlier tendencies to idealize it. This rejection is found at 'Laws' 636Bff. and again at 'Laws' 836Cff., where homosexuality is condemned by the standard of nature (wild beasts do not practise it), and it is said not to lead to courage or temperance.

That the reinterpretation of homosexuality within the Socratic circle did not affect the whole of Athenian society is clear from the speech of Aeschines, 'Against Timarchos'. This speech, dated to 345 BC, repeats the attitudes and even some of the 'topoi' associated with the traditional aristocratic view (references to Achilles and Patroclus, and Harmodios and Aristogeiton, as role models, 135). The speech is especially important because of the fullness and clarity with which it deals with the subject. In summary, the relevant points are: that male prostitution is punishable by law with loss of citizen rights (18-20 and passim); that Aeschines distinguishes such prostitution from 'eros', or homosexual love relationships between free men (137-9); that 'eros' relationships are fully acceptable (139) and in fact openly indulged in by both Aeschines himself and a large number of other older and younger men (whom he even names at 155-7), and confer status upon the participants (137, 139); and that the charge of effeminacy is attached to male prostitutes and only to them (185 and passim). It is claimed that, while ancient law forbade homosexual relationships to slaves (137), in recent time slaves, ex-slaves, and other unworthy men have been deeply involved in such relationships with Timarchos and with others.

Aristophanes is sometimes used as evidence for Athenian attitudes toward homosexuality, especially in connection with the question of its connection with effeminacy. The use of charges of effeminacy against homosexuals was one of the favorite comic themes of Aristophanes, and it is perhaps not surprising that these have been seen as evidence of Athenian attitudes toward all homosexual relations. (52) They cannot, however, be taken at face value as evidence that all homosexual behavior was traditionally regarded as effeminate in Athens, any more than we can accept Aristophanes' comic statements as evidence that Euripides' mother was a greengrocer - the aim of this charge was not to portray Euripides' ancestry accurately, but to cast a shadow upon it and thereby upon his citizen

status. In a similar way, charges of effeminacy were meant to cast a shadow upon the status of those so charged. We see from Aeschines that the laws decreed a loss of civic rights as a penalty for male prostitution, and that effeminacy was considered to be a characteristic of a male prostitute (but was never attributed to the partners in a love relationship between free men, according to Aeschines). Since one of the most frequent comic charges against individuals was to impugn their citizen status, the motivation for these particular charges is not far to seek: if a man was found to be engaged in male prostitution (which is, in effect, what a charge of effeminacy amounted to), his right to citizen status was revoked. In short, we should view Aristophanes not as taking as his theme all types of male homosexuality, but rather as concentrating on the one form which was considered disgraceful and which had political ramifications: the effeminate homosexuality of the male prostitute.

The evidence suggests that at least a small sub-group of the Athenian aristocracy found reason in the late fifth century to redefine and 'refine' the traditional aristocratic custom of homosexuality. Reasons for this reassessment may perhaps be found in the growing democratization of Athenian life and the shifting patterns of social and civic status which it entailed. Aristocratic families had institutionalized the practice as a part of the initiation of boys into the values of the male aristocratic culture: the older man was not simply a lover, but a teacher and guide as well. The boy who attracted a suitable lover gained status, while the boy who did not bore a certain stigma. Both success and failure left lasting marks upon the future status of the individual. When increasing numbers of citizens were incorporated into the professional and bureaucratic life of the city, those who formerly had been insignificant often found themselves with a new civic significance. Their response to this particular aristocratic custom, from which they were excluded by their undistinguished ancestry, in most cases would have been either to mock and criticize, or to attempt to adopt it themselves. We see complaints against just such usurpation of aristocratic 'rights' by unworthy men in Aeschines' speech. On the other hand, some at least of the aristocrats were led by these responses to a reassessment of their practices. They now tried to distinguish themselves from those who aped them and to defend themselves against their critics - by their new 'Platonic' love they reasserted their own superiority and pointed

out the grossness of the multitude. The debate of the Two Logoi in Aristophanes' 'Clouds' gives us a glimpse of all of these responses: those ordinary men who mocked and criticized old aristocratic ways would be entertained by the satire on the Old Education, while those who aped aristocratic ways were themselves mocked (everyone in the audience is 'euryproktos'). Satire and criticism of the reassessed aristocratic position is provided by the New Education: such philosophical sophistication leads to softness and vice.

In contrast to this situation which arose among the intellectuals of Athens, in Thebes, which experienced no significant weakening of aristocratic values during the fifth century, the ancient tradition linking valor with homosexual love not only survived intact and in its original (physical) form, but even underwent a renaissance in the early fourth century with the accomplishments of the Sacred Band, a picked military detachment consisting of pairs of lovers. (53)

Male Theban citizens in the fifth century lived a life firmly set within the framework of traditional aristocratic values, revealed to us in the poetry of Pindar. But what of the other half of the picture, what of the women? Pindar's 'Daphnephorikon' (Frag. 84) offers us some insight into their world. It shows us that daughters of noble families took part in important religious ceremonies, and that that part was important enough to warrant commissioning Pindar to create the song (there were at one time three books of maiden songs, showing that this was a usual occurrence). In the song itself the girl speaks of the limits of propriety which restrained her: she is to think and to speak in a maidenly way (lines 45-7). Her training had been in handwork, by her mother (if the Andaisistrotia of line 53 is to be so identified), and, obviously, in choral performance (lines 54-5).

We learn from the example of Corinna that women could be poets as well as participants in choral performances, but that even here they were expected to keep to their place. (54) Corinna mentions another Boeotian woman poet, Myrtis, and there may have been more. (55) Corinna's Fragment 655 suggests that she may have been a teacher or trainer of the girls in choral performance; if so, it seems that a degree of activity and companionship outside the walls of the home was possible for girls (a Boeotian parallel for Sappho's circle), and that a real possibility existed for some women to become poets themselves, as a natural expansion of their role as choral trainers. A fourth-century Boeotian tombstone

portrays one such woman, part, we may suppose, of an enduring tradition in this basically conservative society. (56)

Calame's recent study of female choruses in ancient Greece (57) appears to offer convincing evidence that such choruses served an educational and initiatory function for girls, parallel to the choral training and participation of boys and young men. Although the use of maiden choruses seems to have been widespread, if not universal, in the Greek world, the concentration of evidence from archaic Lesbos and Sparta, and fifth-century Thebes, suggests that in these cities its role was especially important. Calame distinguishes between the sorts of education provided in Lesbos and in Sparta. In the latter, emphasis was put upon training as a citizen, which included firm indoctrination in the peculiar Spartan way of life and value system; in the former the orientation was more toward developing feminine charm on an individualistic basis. The direction of the education provided by participation in Theban maiden choruses is not clear, but there is no evidence to suggest that a peculiarly Theban way of life existed for which indoctrination would be necessary. The surviving fragments and references suggest that the choral training of Theban girls involved the learning of local traditions as these were embodied in the myths of the choral songs, as well as control of the body and voice ('charm'), and discipline in social interaction. Thus it paralleled the traditional choric education of boys. Even in the fourth century, speaking from a conservative point of view, Plato can equate choral participation with education: (58)

Athenian: ... No young creature whatsoever, as we may fairly assert, can keep its body or its voice still; all are perpetually trying to make movements and noises. They leap and bound, they dance and frolic, as it were with glee, and again, they utter cries of all sorts. Now animals at large have no perception of the order or disorder in these motions, no sense of what we call rhythm or melody. But in our own case, the gods of whom we spoke as given us for companions in our revels [Apollo and Dionysus] have likewise given us the power to perceive and enjoy rhythm and melody. Through this sense they stir us to movements and become our choir leaders. They string us together on a thread of song and dance, and have named our choirs too after the delight they naturally afford May we assume that our earliest education comes through the Muses and Apollo, or not?

Clinias: We may make that assumption.

Athenian: So by an uneducated man we shall mean one who has no choric training, and by an educated man one whose choric training has been thorough?

Clinias: Exactly. ('Laws' 653D-654B, tr. Taylor)

It is important for our understanding of the condition of women in ancient Greece to realize that such participation allowed girls a degree of activity and companionship beyond their homes and immediate families. Such social life would go far in lightening the burden of female childhood, as would the fact that in a highly traditional and conservative society, such as fifth-century Thebes, the education of boys would have been carried out along somewhat parallel lines. The real problem of 'women's condition' seems to have risen to consciousness for the first time when the traditional structuring of society gave way to new structures and values in the late fifth century in Athens. At this time and place male roles were no longer so single-mindedly oriented toward physical prowess in sports and battle, and citizen activity became dependent more upon cleverness and the ability to speak and argue, than upon sheer physical strength. At this time in Athens the disparity between male and female education became more marked, as the young upper-class males flocked to the Sophists for higher education, and the Sophists brought into question the values of the traditional choric education. At the same time, the skills needed of a citizen shifted toward those in which women too could naturally excel (cleverness, verbal facility, reasoning). Thus we find Aristophanes' Lysistrata arguing: (59)

Yes, I'm a woman, but I *am* intelligent,
And my judgment's pretty good;
And after listening to many speeches of
my father and the older men,

I'm not badly educated. ('Lysistrata' 1123-7)

In considering the nature of the role played by women in Theban society, it is interesting to note that the extant material in Pindar which was either performed during a Theban (or in one case, Boeotian) religious ceremony, or describes such a ceremony, appears to show a striking emphasis on women. We must of course allow for the lacunose nature of the evidence, but the emphasis is none the less definite enough to occasion thought. The relevant passages include:

Frag. 84 (the 'Daphnephorikon')

'Pythian' 3, 77-9 (description of nocturnal maiden songs)

'Pythian' 11 (sung during a procession to the Ismenion)

'Isthmian' 4.61-8 (description of annual festival of the 'Heracleidai')

Frag. 61 (description of celestial festival of Bromius)

Frag. 93 (description of Dionysiac experience, Galaxion in Boeotia)

Frag. 85 (from a maiden-song to Pan and the Great Mother)

Pan is addressed as a guardian of Arkadia, so this particular fragment may not have come from a song written for Thebans; we may suppose it to be similar to the Theban songs mentioned in 'Pythian' 3.77-9, as the scholiast thought when he quoted it in connection with this passage).

Of these passages, the 'Daphnephorikon' is sung by a girl, 'Pythian' 3 describes maiden-songs sung to the Mother and Pan, and Fragment 85 seems to be an example of such a song, though possibly not a Theban song itself. Fragment 93 is classified as a maiden-song, probably because of the traditional role of women in Dionysiac orgiastic rites. 'Pythian' 11 begins with an invocation of the daughters of Kadmos to come into the presence of the goddess Melia, followed by an invitation to the Theban women, who are the children of Harmonia, to join the host of heroines in the night-time ceremony; (60) while the fragmentary dithyramb for the Thebans (Frag.61) attributes a similarly woman-centered celebration of the festival of Dionysos to the gods: in the presence of the Great Mother, the Naiads, Pallas and Artemis (as well as the thunderbolt of Zeus and the spear of Enyalios, of indeterminate sex) participate. The fragment continues with a woman-centered version of the story of Kadmos (woman-centered in the sense that it features women beyond the call of necessity: Harmonia at least is a gratuitous addition from the usual genealogical standpoint):

[Thebes] ... the legend is that there at one time
Kadmos with lofty mind took as his wife Harmonia.
and she [he?] heard the voice of Zeus and bore
[begot?] an offspring famed among men, [Semele].
O Dionysos (lines 21-6)

In these passages women act as participants in most cases. In a few instances, female divinities are celebrated (the Great Mother, Melia). Only the festival of the Heracleidai seems predominantly masculine in orientation (even in this the sons are identified through their mother Megara, but this is probably necessary to identify them as these particular children of Heracles).

To these passages from Pindar which suggest a feminist oriented religious atmosphere at Thebes should be added

the maiden-chorus of Corinna (Frag. 655), and Fragment 688 with its reference to the 'partheneia' or maiden songs, of Corinna. 'Partheneia' made up a good part of the work of Pindar: the 'Lives' mentions two books, and a third seems to have been called 'Different Partheneia' and to have consisted of songs sung by maidens for festivals other than the Daphnephoria. (61) Farnell points out that the large number of 'Partheneia' attributed to Pindar seems to imply that the celebration of the Daphnephoria was an annual celebration (as Pausanias has it), and not a nine-year festival (as Proclus). (62) If he is correct in this calculation of frequency, we have more reason for stressing the importance of choral training in the lives of young Theban girls.

Another important aspect of religious life dealt with by Pindar is the area of mystery faiths and beliefs about an afterlife. The relevant passages were composed for various patrons and only one such passage has even any likelihood of representing the beliefs of a Theban, yet they show us the range of beliefs with which Pindar was familiar, and they demonstrate the widespread dissemination of such beliefs in the Greek world in the early fifth century. One should not overlook either the presence of a mystery cult in Thebes, that practised at the Kabeirion. Finally, it is important to consider this material as a background for the later interest shown by certain Thebans in the afterlife, as witnessed by Plato's 'Phaedo'.

Two passages describe a life after death. 'Olympian' 2.56-83 reports that immediately after death sinners suffer punishment, while the good are rewarded by a life of continual sunlight, without toil, beside the gods. All who have succeeded in keeping their souls pure from wrong deeds after three times on either side (in three lives?) go to the Isles of the Blessed, where Peleus, Kadmos, and Achilles dwell. Fragment 114 also describes a place of perfect bliss, with perpetual sunlight. It adds something about the activities of the inhabitants: they occupy themselves with the aristocratic pastimes of horses, wrestling, games, and lyres. It is a land of light and fragrance, which is contrasted with a land of unending gloomy night.

Fragment 116 speaks of the survival of the soul, and gives arguments for its survival. The body, dying, leaves behind it an 'eidolon' of itself. It can survive because of its divine origin. And the evidence for its existence independent of the body during the lifetime of

the body is found in our experience of dreams. Especially interesting is the provision of rational foundations for these beliefs: a reason for the soul's ability to survive is given, as well as evidence for the theory of its independent existence. The former argument appears to be a primitive version of an argument attributed to Socrates by Plato: in 'Phaedo' 79A-80C the divinity of the soul is used as a proof of its indestructibility.

Fragment 127 is the only passage which explicitly mentions transmigration. It says that souls from whom Persephone has accepted requital for woe are restored to life as kings, heroes, and wise men. Rose argued that the woe was the death of Persephone's son Dionysos, or of Zagreus at the hands of the Titans, and that this places the passage in the Orphic sphere. (63) He also identified a Boeotian element in the eight-year punishment: such punishments occur in Hesiod ('Theogony' 793ff.), in the story of Kadmos, (64) and in the story of the Labors of Heracles (a twelve-year punishment but completed in eight years, one month). (65) Because of this Boeotian element, and the lack of any ideas otherwise associated with Magna Graecia or reflecting Pythagorean views in the fragment (ideas such as are found in 'Olympian' 2 and in the fragments of Empedocles), Rose suggested that Pindar's client was a mainland Greek nobleman. The reference to Persephone and the inference that the woe was the death of Dionysos Zagreus led him to identify this nobleman as an Orphic. The difficulties in the way of his argument are considerable, since neither the Orphic nor the Pythagorean can be defined or differentiated as clearly as his argument assumes. (66) Nevertheless, his conclusion is not impossible: it may be that the fragment was composed for a mainland Greek. There is nothing to rule it out, although the positive argument is not as strong as Rose would have it. Another interesting aspect of this fragment is that Plato, in introducing it in the 'Meno' (81B), says that those who maintain this belief in transmigration are 'priests and priestesses who make it their business to be able to account for the functions which they perform'. This suggests that the application of rational argument to such beliefs, which we saw in Fragment 116, was not an isolated instance or a Pindaric addition.

Two final fragments include 121, which was composed for an Eleusinian initiate, (67) possibly for Hippocrates, brother of Kleisthenes, (68) and Fragment 115, which appears to be a reference to the efficacy of mystery rites. (69)

It would be a mistake to try to reconcile these various

passages or to try to find in them a Pindaric religion. (70) Pindar wrote to suit his patrons and their beliefs, and it is their beliefs which we find here: Theron's faith, the beliefs of an Eleusinian initiate, possibly the faith of a Boeotian. Some of the passages show strong similarity with each other ('Olympian' 2 and Fragment 114 for instance), but important differences also exist, such as those between fragments which promise bliss from participation in a mystery rite and fragments which would require a virtuous life. Reincarnation is suggested in Theon's faith, and definitely stated in Fragment 127. What is important is the evidence that these passages provide for a widespread fifth-century belief in a life of the soul after death in various local versions, a belief at times even supported by rational arguments. Pindar may or may not have entertained such beliefs himself, but they must have been fairly familiar throughout Greek society in his time. The existence of a mystery cult at Thebes, that of the Kabeiroi, suggests that similar beliefs may also have been found in that city. It may even be that Rose's mainland Greek was a Theban, although the version of the birth of Dionysos which seems to be involved does not fit easily into the Theban mythical picture.

This religiously oriented poetry, which used as raw material stories about the gods and heroes, and which was performed during a variety of religious celebrations, was none the less (like the similarly religiously oriented Attic tragedy) created and performed under conditions of spirited competition. 'Pythian' 12 attests directly to competition in music, for it was composed to celebrate a Pythian victory in flute-playing. Fragment 40.58-61 speaks of the 'agon' of Loxias:

for my tongue loveth to pour forth the choicest and sweetest bloom of song, when, at the festivals of the gods, I have entered the broad lists of Loxias. (tr. Sandys)

The last lines of Pindar's 'Daphnephorikon' (80-2) hint at a competition of choruses, as interpreted in the light of the clearer agonistic spirit of Alcman's 'Partheneion'. (71) There are also several passages in which Pindar refers, or appears to refer, to his poetic rivals in none too kindly terms as crows or jackdaws, while he is the noble eagle. (72) In the same critical spirit, Corinna censures Myrtis because she, being a woman, entered into competition with Pindar (Frag.664a). If the fragment refers to a formal contest, it is hard to reconcile with the tradition that Corinna herself defeated Pindar (once, or according to another version, five times). If the competition is taken less literally, it may be more easily

understandable. Possibly what Corinna meant was that Myrtis abandoned a traditional female poetic format, perhaps the use of a local dialect such as we observe in Corinna's work, for a male format. (73)

The tradition which casts Corinna into the role of victor over Pindar is, if not literally true, at least true to the agonistic atmosphere in which these poets worked. Corinna preserves an amusing reflection (could it be a parody?) of these human contests in the story of a contest between the mountains Cithaeron and Helicon, which ended with a display of wounded artistic pride:

Cithaeron received the greater number of votes,
And straightaway Hermes proclaimed, shouting,
That he had won victory dear to the heart.
With wreaths the blessed gods adorned him,
And he rejoiced in his mind.
But Helicon, in the grip of grievous pain,
Seized a smooth rock; the mountain shuddered;
Piteously laboring, from the summit he
Dashed it down into a myriad pieces. (Frag.654.23-4)

Could we perhaps infer that some of the human losers behaved with a similar lack of self-restraint? It would be interesting to know if a Theban audience heard this and went away chuckling over what was to them a transparent reference to a Great Poet - perhaps even to Pindar himself. (74)

7 The arts and crafts

Boeotian art of the classical period has received little attention except in specialized studies, despite the interesting insights which it can offer into Theban life, and the increased significance which comparison can bring to our understanding of Attic work. The fact that it was 'provincial' has too often been taken to mean that the works were derivative, or even nothing more than inept copies, and thus of little interest except to a few specialists. In fact, however, this is not at all the case. Closer examination reveals that the copying and adaptation were done selectively, and in such a way that they reveal much about the values and interests of the artist and his public; moreover, even in the provinces, real originality and first-rate artistic achievements were sometimes to be found. (1) Such certainly is the case in the two areas of Theban art in the fifth century which have left significant remains: figured funeral stelai and vase painting. (2)

THE FIGURED FUNERAL STELAI

Funeral monuments, especially stone slabs or stelai featuring human figures carved in relief, were used from the mid seventh century in the Cycladic islands, and in Attica from the end of the seventh century, but the form underwent intensive development in sixth-century Athens. When sumptuary legislation prohibiting extravagant spending was enacted in Athens in about 480, (3) this put an end for the time being to the Athenian series of funerary monuments. Relief carved monuments began to appear again in Athens after mid-century, but in the meantime use and development of such stelai continued elsewhere, especially in Boeotia, which is particularly

rich in funeral monuments from antiquity. (4) The Theban figured stelai featuring people and scenes from life are of particular interest. Basically, two types of figured stelai were produced in Thebes: stelai of light colored limestone of the type called Thespian marble with bas-relief scenes, (5) and etched and painted stelai worked in an especially hard black limestone (painted but unengraved stelai appear to have preceded and followed the engraved stelai, but the painting has for the most part disappeared).

Extant examples of bas-relief Theban stelai of the fifth century begin with a stele dated to the first decade of the century. The surviving lower part of this stele portrays a hoplite warrior in profile facing left. This work resembles rather closely the Attic stele of Aristion. (6) Close resemblances are not unusual among grave stelai. The desires of the families commissioning these works were generally conservative, as might be expected when we remember that these were pious memorials for the dead. Certain popular motifs recur, and it has even been suggested that some stelai were made up in advance, with standard scenes which still allowed for some minor individualization according to the wishes of the purchaser, or that 'pattern books' existed from which the family could choose their memorial. (7) Certainly the local necropolis could serve the same purpose, and probably helped to determine people's ideas of what was suitable. Such practices may well explain some of the later Theban 'copies' of Theban work, but in the case of this early warrior stele, in which the resemblance is not to another local stele but to a 'foreign' work, such an interpretation seems unlikely. In fact, the opposite of conservatism may be suggested: a Theban family was so interested in following the latest Athenian style that they commissioned a work which was unusual for their area. (8) The sculptor who created this stele may have migrated from Athens to Thebes when work in Athens fell off early in the fifth century, possibly as a result of the sumptuary legislation which outlawed sculptured stelai. (9)

Another Theban stele which displays foreign stylistic influences, but this time in the form of combined Attic and Ionic tendencies deriving from the Ionian islands, (10) is the mounted warrior in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (11) (see Plate 3). In this case, however, the imported influences were utilized in the creation of a new type, for the piece has no direct antecedents. It has been suggested that it is a translation into relief of an Attic funerary statue in the round, (12) but such

a translation would itself constitute a major innovation. Again, the motif has been linked to the subsidiary horsemen which appear on some early Attic stelai, (13) these, however, do not represent the deceased but rather his retainers, and so the concept is completely different from that of the horseman stele with its sole figure clearly representing the deceased. A comparison appeared to exist with a relief of a horseman from Chios; however, a similar piece found in Athens has shown both of these to be not stelai, but architectural panels probably used in funerary buildings, representing followers of the dead man. (14) Both the Chian and the Athenian reliefs are attributed to the same Ionian workshop, and possibly to the same sculptor. (15) The horseman from Thebes remains an apparent innovation, in which a sculptor working under Attic and Ionic influences created a new Boeotian type of stele representation, which in the future was to find followers in other Boeotian centers, especially Thespieae, although not in Thebes. (16)

The work is characteristically Boeotian not only in its type, but also in its tempering of modern styles of artistic expression with archaic characteristics. Such archaizing characteristics can be seen in the stylized linear patterning of the folds of the clothing, while at the same time more modern tendencies are evident in the interest the sculptor displays in natural representation through the careful modeling of anatomical details in both the horse and its rider, as well as in the turning of the horse's head out of the typical archaic profile position.

We observed above that in the case of the warrior stele Attic influence was perhaps transmitted in the person of a sculptor, travelling to Boeotia in search of work. In a similar way, sculptors from the islands travelled and worked where the market was good. (17) Direct evidence of this is to be found in Boeotia in the stele of Alxenor, from Orchomenos: (18) Alxenor signed his work and said that he was from Naxos. We can thus understand how the mixed Attic-Ionic stylistic tendencies exhibited in the mounted rider stele came to be combined in Thebes with locally favored archaizing features. The work was perhaps created by a local craftsman working under the influence of a travelling Ionian sculptor. The aspect of the work which is most surprising is the creation of a new type; as is often the case, provincial borrowing turns out to be innovative adaptation instead.

Between 470 and 450 there is an apparent gap not only in Theban but also in Boeotian stelai from other areas, probably the result of conditions after the Persian wars.

This gap is not, however, as complete as it seems when judged by the published evidence, since Schild-Xenidou in her catalogue of Boeotian grave reliefs identifies two unpublished stelai as probably belonging to this period. (19) Nevertheless, there is a great contrast between the number of stelai dated before and those dated after 450. (20) After 450 production became abundant enough in Boeotia to enable scholars to differentiate the work of local schools, and we can follow the development of a truly Theban school. The causes behind this sudden expansion of interest in what was obviously a luxury product, the sculptured stele, may probably be found in the ending of the politically unsettled period in which control of Boeotia was contested between the Athenians and the Boeotians. The victory of Coronea settled the issue of Boeotian independence, while at the same time internal Boeotian stability was attained through the regaining by Thebes of a position of relative predominance. The resulting peace quickly brought prosperity to a naturally rich land, and we find a blooming not only of the art of relief sculpture and painting, but also, as we shall see below, of vase painting as well.

Three works from this period will serve to represent the work of the Theban school in the later half of the century. The first example, dated to mid-century, is the small stele of Amphotto. As is understandable considering the recent emancipation of Boeotia from Athenian control, this work follows Ionian rather than Athenian models.

(21) Even the motif, a standing maiden, appears to have been Ionian. (22) In following Ionian models, however, it also displays the characteristic Theban tendency toward archaism which was already notable in the stele of 480/470. In this case, archaism can be seen in the strong profile position of the figure, the flat plane surfaces of the face and bodily parts, the frontal view of the eye, and the stylized patterning of the hair and drapery. The result is a static and formal figure which has both great dignity and an indisputable charm about it (23) (see Plate 4).

The second example which we shall consider is the stele of Hermophaneia, (24) which is dated to the third quarter of the century, and for which no more exact provenance than 'Boeotia' is known. It is interesting especially because it illustrates a new interest in multi-figured scenes on the stelai, a characteristic which first appeared in east Ionia, within the sphere of influence of Miletus and Ephesus. (25) Hermophaneia's figure is worked with relatively successful indications of its three-dimensional character; in this it stands

in contrast to the figure of the husband, which, by virtue of its very low relief, seems to fade into the background. The husband's frontal eye and the poorly achieved foreshortening of his left arm also contrast with the treatment of Hermophaneia's figure. The contrast may be intentional, an effort to concentrate attention on Hermophaneia or to differentiate the dead from the living, (26) or it may be simply the result of using a less skilled assistant for this background figure. (27)

The third example is the stele of Polyxena, which Schild-Xenidou dates to the last quarter of the fifth century and considers to be the finest example of the work of the Theban school. (28) It is very effective in exhibiting that peculiar conjunction of external aesthetic influences and local tastes and realities which marks most 'provincial' work. In particular, it contrasts the modern fluid treatment of the drapery with the archaizing use of flat planes to render bodily surfaces. The body type is also probably determined by Theban aesthetic ideas: well-fed, sturdy, even heavy-set. It is generally agreed that the figure represents a priestess, who holds the attributes of her office: a cult statue and a key (29) (see Plate 5).

It is odd that not only these three examples, but all of the confirmed instances of stelai from the Theban workshop in the second half of the century are memorials to women or girls, while there are no instances of stelai commemorating men, or of a theme one might well have expected in Thebes: the young hunter, with his horse or dog. The latter theme appears to have been a favorite one in nearby Thespieae, where women are also portrayed in fair number. Accidents of survival or discovery may account for the apparent absence of men on the Theban bas-relief stelai of this period, but even if several men's stelai were to be found, the ratio of women to men would remain unusually high in comparison to Attica. (30) In contrast, men are almost (but not quite) exclusively the subjects of the second type of stele, that consisting of engraved and painted representations. Perhaps these were thought to be more suitable for men, although if most of them were created to honor the dead of a single battle, as has been argued, this explanation loses much of its cogency.

The engraved stelai represent another aspect of the creativity of provincial art, for they appear to be a unique type, displaying both originality and a high degree of artistic and technical ability on the part of the artist or artists. (31) The nature of the material perhaps helped to determine the technique, for the black

limestone is exceptionally hard. The figures are engraved using lines and lines of dots, and the surface itself is worked in various ways so as to create a contrast between smooth and worked areas. When the stones had been engraved, they were then painted, using a polychrome technique rather than a four-color method; whether an encaustic technique was used, as has been thought, has not been finally determined, but it now seems doubtful. (32) Because of the loss of most of the paint; other damage caused by time, re-use, and weather; and the shallowness of the engraving, the representations are very difficult to make out today, although variations in the refraction of light from the varied surfaces help in some cases, as do the copies made after careful study which are usually displayed beside the stelai (33) (see Plate 6).

Most of the stelai portray variations on a warrior theme, but a few fragmentary pieces using the same technique depict entirely different scenes: a funeral banquet or symposium (stele of Woikonos); a seated man, possibly with a horse (stele of Breisada), and a pair of women with a child. (34) The last stele seems to have the clearest representation of the three, but only the lower section is preserved. One woman is seated on a chair, another is standing in front of her (a favorite scene of seated woman with standing servant facing her, which is found on bas-relief stelai from Thespiae and elsewhere), and a child stands by the back leg of the chair and appears to hold one of a pair of cocks. The engraving is even shallower than on the other stelai of this type, and it appears to be an early example of the technique. (35) It seems to refute the theory that the form was especially typical of monuments dedicated to men.

Six other engraved stelai have been found, all of which portray a version of the warrior theme. (36) The figures are in battle stance, usually charging to the left, sometimes uphill. All wear the conical Boeotian helmet, carry a shield, and are equipped with spears and daggers; variations occur in type of dress, degree of decoration (especially on shields, two of which bear a scene depicting Bellerophon and the Chimaera), presence or absence of wreaths on the helmets, and footwear (some appear to be barefooted, but sandals may have been painted on). Some of the stelai show details of landscape: rocky ground, trees, flowers. The stele of Saugenēs is especially interesting, since it depicts his last moments in a dramatic fashion: surrounded by stones which have been thrown at him, his spear broken and cast aside, armed only with his shield and dagger, he prepares to ward off an enemy spear, whose point can already be seen headed toward him (see Figure 4).

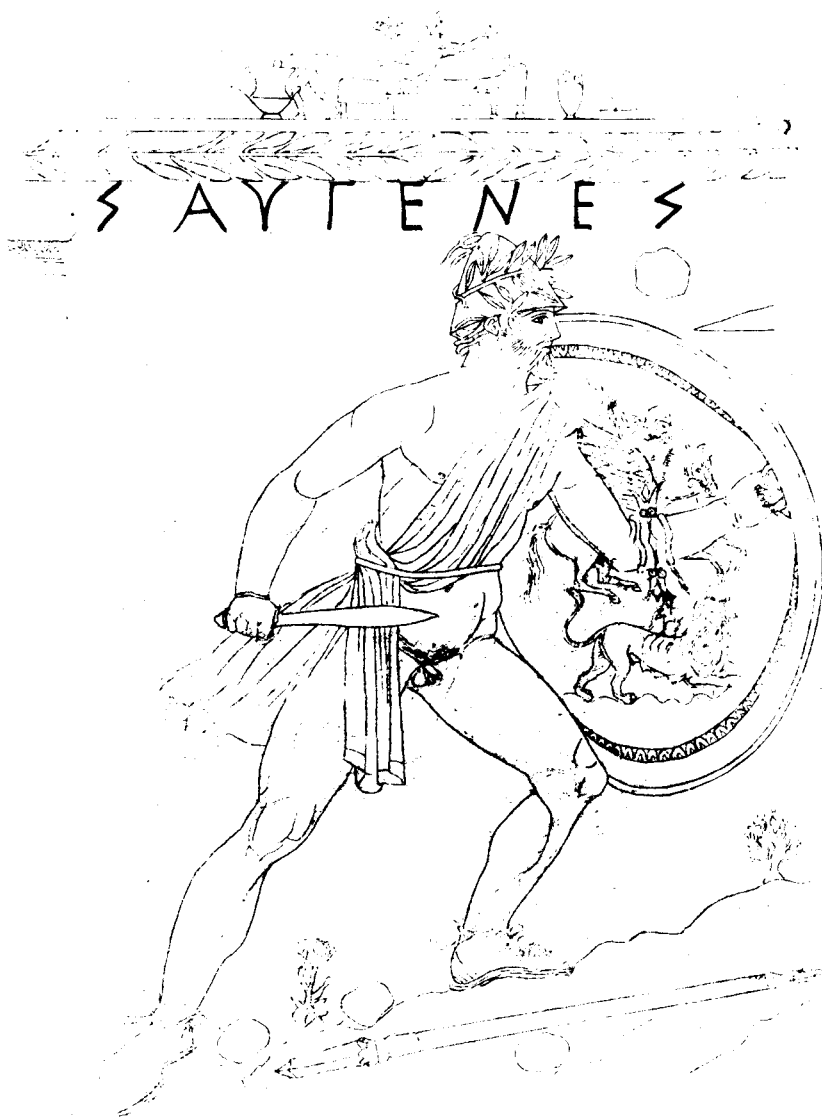


Figure 4 Sketch of stele of Saugenes by P. Saraphianos,
from Kalogeropoulos, *Archaiologika Analekta ex*
Athenon, vol.1, fig.2

The use of perspective devices is especially noteworthy on these stelai. Round shields are depicted as oval, and on the stele of Rhynchon a tree in the distance is depicted as being of nearly the same height as a flower in the foreground, providing the earliest clear evidence for the deliberate use of perspective lessening of size to indicate distance. (37) Another innovation of monumental painting adopted by the artist is the use of polychromy as opposed to a four-color scheme, which is found used in a skiagraphic (impressionistic) fashion on the chiton of Saugenes. The varied surface treatment also added to the skiagraphic effects, deflecting light in various ways, even as it does today.

Ancillary decorations on these warrior stelai also vary. The pediments of the two more elaborate stones, those of Rhynchon and Saugenes, bear scenes, the former probably a family scene of father, mother, and child, (38) the latter a symposium scene in which are portrayed a set of tools, apparently those of a smith. Keramopoullos interprets the presence of these tools as a sign of Saugenes' trade: he was a well-to-do metal worker, probably the owner of an armor-making shop. Other stelai indicating occupation are known from the Boeotian area: the stele of Polyxena the priestess, of the lyre player, (39) and of the poetess or teacher Zopyra from Thespieae from the fourth century. (40) A close parallel known from Attica which also depicts a trade is the stele of the shoemaker Xanthippos, which is dated c. 420 BC. (41)

Recent study of the Saugenes stele has confirmed the earlier suggestion that the second figure on the symposium couch in the pediment is in fact a woman. (42) This is an extremely interesting and puzzling discovery. Such scenes are of course frequent on Greek vases, but these were presumably intended for use at symposia, and the identification of the women as hetairai appears both clear and appropriate. The situation would seem to be quite different when the scene appears on a funeral stele. Erotic themes are not entirely unknown in connection with grave monuments, (43) but it would be surprising to find one of these rare instances in a conservative Boeotian city (Saugenes was from Tanagra). It is difficult to believe that the family would commission a portrayal of a hetaira, even if it had been the (eccentric) wish of the deceased. Kontoleon obviously felt the difficulty, for although he identified the figure as a dancer, he later added that she was a *free* woman. But nothing in our experience of fifth-century Greece suggests that free unmarried girls of good repute were allowed to share symposium couches and revel with bachelors. Perhaps the

couple should be interpreted as husband and wife, (44) which might suggest the presence in life, as in death, of wives at the symposia of their husbands. Unfortunately, the engraved stela of Woikonos, which appears to have a symposium scene on its main field, is in too poor condition to furnish any information on this surprising development.

Perhaps the explanation of symposium scenes on the Saugenes and Woikonos stelai is to be sought in another direction, however. The Saugenes stela is the earliest known portrayal of a banquet on a funerary monument. The idea that the dead might enjoy the delights of perpetual banqueting appears in our written sources first in Aristophanes (45) and Plato; (46) although the idea fits well into the picture of the afterlife in Pindar's 'Olympian' 2, banqueting is not specifically mentioned there. Plato attributes the idea to Mousaios and his son Orpheus. In mid-fourth century the comic poet Aristophon connects the idea with the Pythagoreans. (47) It thus appears to have been an idea which found a ready reception within the general sphere of the mystery cults. (48) That its first graphic expression on a funerary monument was created in a Theban workshop seems appropriate, for the city was the center both of the mystery cult of the Kabeiroi (in which symposium scenes involving the Kabeiros were common on vases), and of the mainland Greek Pythagorean movement. The artist in looking for a prototype for this new representation perhaps simply drew upon a type well known from the symposium scenes on Attic vases. Later, more sedate representations attest to the development of a more appropriate type, with the woman sitting on a stool or on the edge of the couch. It still seems significant that the woman appears regularly, and seems to have been a standard element in the type scene.

Of the warrior stelai, at least those of Mnason, Rhynchon, Saugenes, and Koiranos, with their close similarity in technique and, in most details, subject matter, appear to have come from a single workshop located in Thebes, (49) although the stelai of Saugenes and Koiranos were found at Tanagra. The identity of the artist is naturally a matter of great interest. Keramopoulos has identified him as Aristeides of Thebes. (50) Pliny mentions this painter several times, (51) although he confuses him with his grandson who lived in the fourth century. (52) Aristeides the painter appears to have been the same man as Aristeides the bronze sculptor, who made chariots with four horses and two horses, and who was a pupil of the sculptor Polykleitos. (53)

Aside from his possible involvement with these stelai, Aristeides appears to have been connected in another most interesting way with the intellectual history of Thebes. In studying the ancient sources in an effort to explain a procedure used by the Pythagorean Eurytus to ascertain the 'number' of a living being, the philosopher J.E. Raven has been led to the conclusion that Eurytus was utilizing the theory of proportions, or the Canon, of Polykleitos. (54) He suggests that Eurytus could have learned of the Canon indirectly through his friend Philolaus, who perhaps adopted it after reading an exposition written by Polykleitos. There was a much more direct way, however, in which the theory could have been transmitted. Polykleitos was the master of Aristeides, and would naturally have taught him the Canon. In the 'Phaedo' Plato names Philolaus as the teacher of the two Thebans, Simmias and Cebes ('Phaedo' 61d), who heard him when he visited them in Thebes. While in Thebes, Philolaus could easily have picked up information about the Canon directly from Aristeides. To a Pythagorean, whose philosophy centered upon the concept of proportion, a new theory of proportion would have been of the greatest interest.

The Warrior stelai have been attributed by Keramopoullos to the last quarter of the fifth century, and, in fact, he believed that they were all created as memorials for men fallen in the battle of Delion. (55) This suggestion was based not only upon synchronism between the dates of the battle and the apparent dates of the stelai, but also upon the existence of the names 'Saugenes' and 'Koironos' on a casualty list inscription from Tanagra which Keramopoullos has identified as listing those fallen at Delion. The relative infrequency with which names were duplicated in the same city and period in Boeotia suggests strongly that these men were identical with those for whom the stelai were created, the list belonging to a public memorial, while the stelai were private memorials commissioned for use in family burial plots.

The importance of these stelai as evidence for the presence in Thebes in the last quarter of the fifth century of an artist or artists of outstanding artistic and technical ability is unquestionable, whoever he may have been. They offer us a new insight into the potentials of provincial art. Just as the bas-relief stelai demonstrate the selectivity with which themes and techniques were borrowed and the controlling role which local values played in the borrowing, adaptation and development of these themes and techniques, so the engraved and painted stelai show us a provincial master who was in the forefront in adapting artistic innovations, and who created a wholly new

genre to suit local materials and requirements. In this area of artistic endeavor, Thebes was by no means an isolated backwater.

PAINTED VASES

The products of the vase painters' art differ in obvious ways from the grave stelai which we have just considered. Perhaps the most important difference lies in the fact that the stelai were luxury products, created for a very few, while painted vases, especially of the less carefully done variety, must have been fairly inexpensive. Most Thebans at some time in their lives must have found occasion to buy a painted vase, if not to adorn their symposia, at least to mourn a dead relative or to celebrate some important family event such as a wedding. Thus far more vases than stelai have survived, in at least fragmentary form, and we have material representing a much wider range of craftsmanship. Price must often have been an important factor, and not surprisingly, in Thebes as in many other Greek cities, many pieces offered in the market were rather sloppily done, and vase painting did not always attract the best craftsmen. (56) None the less, the vase painter in his adaptations of external models displays much the same characteristics of Theban taste as did the men who created the grave stelai, and on occasion he also rose to the level of originality and considerable artistic achievement.

One of the more important sources of materials for the study of Boeotian pottery has been not Thebes itself but the necropolis of Mykelessos (modern Rhitsona), which is located at some distance from the city. (57) This raises the question of the possibility of identifying specifically Theban pottery for consideration: how can we tell if we are dealing with a Theban vase when it was found in a distant cemetery? Fortunately, the answer has been provided by scholars who combined information about local finds at Thebes with the results of the classification of the Rhitsona pottery into workshops. A large body of indisputably Theban pottery does exist, including some of the best and most original work: the pottery found in the sanctuary of the Kabeiroi. This pottery has been analyzed and certain painters identified; (58) works stylistically close to these painters have then been found among the vases from the necropolis of Rhitsona, making possible the identification of these workshops as Theban. For instance, stylistic links have been recognized between Kabeiric vases and the black-figure work of the

Thetis painter, (59) which in turn is close to the Branteghem workshop. (60) These connections have allowed scholars to attribute all these workshops to Thebes. The Branteghem workshop also produced red-figure ware, and, in particular, at least some of the series of vases with a woman's head as decoration; (61) this work is therefore identifiable as Theban. Again, there is a close connection between the Branteghem shop and the shop of the painter of the Judgment of Paris, (62) and this allows identification of that shop as Theban. The most prolific red-figure shop, that of the Argos cup painter, seems also to have been a Theban establishment (the work on one vase, a skyphos in Athens, (63) appears to have been the joint work of the Argos painter and a member of the Thetis workshop). (64) Finally, a mid-fifth-century group of vases with white on black decoration is connected with Thebes by the inclusion of a vase with a Kabeiric theme. (65) From such arguments and interconnections we can see justification for Cook's opinion that Thebes was the center of production of Boeotian red-figure vases, and of the better black-figure ware (he suggests that inferior black-figure work was the product of northern Boeotia and perhaps Euboea). (66)

The background for most Theban pottery is to be found in the very popular and widely exported black-figure and red-figure vases of Athens. The black-figure technique produced black figures silhouetted against the red background provided by the original color of the clay. The black color resulted from the use of a clay mixture painted on the vase; a complex firing technique resulted in the contrast of black and red when the different clay mixtures reacted differently to the reducing and oxidizing effects of the fire. Details were engraved in the black figures, and white and red paint were sometimes also used. This technique was at the height of its popularity in Athens in the sixth century; in c. 530 a reverse technique was invented, in which the background was black and the figures were left in the red color of the clay. This allowed for details on the figures to be painted on in a thin glaze, rather than engraved, and thus permitted much more scope for the representation of expression and for the use on vases of shading and other innovative techniques for the representation of perspective developed by the monumental wall painters. Red-figure pottery became the most popular style for Athenian vases in the fifth century, at least in Athens. Athenian vases were widely exported, and were quite popular in Thebes. Imported vases were relatively expensive, however, and hostility between Athens and Thebes also must have put a damper on the import of Athenian

pottery. Local Theban vase painters thus often met the demands of the market by creating imitations of Athenian work, and it is these more or less frank copies of Athenian work which we shall consider first.

In Theban copies of Attic vases (67) we can see the bias of Theban taste at work, determining how the borrowing will be done. It is this selectivity which makes a study of these Atticizing vases most interesting. The most obvious tendency is one toward conservatism. Thus, although Theban vase painters took up the red-figure technique after 480, they continued to prefer the old-fashioned black-figure; by the end of the fifth century, when the tradition of Attic black-figure was essentially dead, except for the production of Panathenaic amphorae, presented as awards at the traditional cult celebrations of the Panathenaic procession, the Thebans succeeded in producing fresh and vigorous examples of the technique in the pottery associated with the shrine of the Kabeiroi. Preference for black-figure also reveals itself in the continuing production of vases in mixed red- and black-figure techniques, (68) as well as in the production of both red-figure and black-figure work in the same workshop and even by the same painter. (69)

Even when red-figure work was produced, a black-figure approach is evident in the linear tendencies of the work and in the treatment of bodies as flat surfaces with only schematized and conventional indications of muscular structure. Such an approach is similar to the archaizing tendencies seen in the bas-relief stelai, with their linear and stylized treatment of drapery and flat rendering of bodily surfaces. In the light of these archaizing tendencies, it is not surprising to find that the Boeotian vase painters rejected the use of such advanced techniques as perspective foreshortening and impressionistic painting methods (*skiagraphia*). (70) While Attic red-figure vase painters attempted to achieve a more three-dimensional realism through these methods borrowed from the wall painters, Thebans stubbornly maintained a basically linear means of representation. (71) In a somewhat similar way there was a hesitation among the bas-relief sculptors in the application of these techniques, and mixed results when they did adopt them. On the other hand, a strong contrast exists with the engraved stelai, whose creator seems to have been in the forefront of experimentation. This should not be surprising, however, for in the case of the engraved stelai we are dealing with a master painter, probably Aristeides, or at least with someone following closely in the footsteps of the monumental painters, and working with a surface whose size and flatness

allowed for the use of these techniques. In contrast, the vase painters were in many cases not the most talented workmen, and the curved surfaces upon which they worked offered far more difficulties for the application of the new techniques than did the flat surfaces of walls. Even the sculptors of the bas-relief stelai were producing a basically utilitarian product, and foremost in their minds must have been the satisfaction of the desires of their conservative clients, rather than experimentation with the newest techniques of monumental painting. If Theban tastes required more avant-garde effects in their vases, they would have had to turn to the more expensive Attic red-figure imports. We can assume that usually buyers found most satisfaction in familiar-looking vases, and that in their choice they would have been looking mainly for a clear portrayal of a subject which appealed to them within their price range. Some careful work is, however, evident, especially in the elaborate decorative patterning of clothing in the work of the painter of the Judgment of Paris (see Plate 7).

A particularly interesting and attractive series of red-figure vases featuring a large head as the principal decorative element was produced in Thebes in the last third of the fifth century and the early fourth century. In this case, we are not dealing with frank copies of popular Athenian products, for the woman's head motif never attained popularity in Athens. The use of a human, or daimonic, head as a principal decoration on vases first occurred in mainland Greece near the middle of the seventh century; the heads appeared independently in Corinth, Lakonia, Argos, and Attica at this time. Earlier and also independent appearances occurred in Crete in the second half of the eighth century and in Pithekussai in the late eighth century. Most women's heads appeared in this early period in Corinth, and most of these seem from inscriptions to have been representations of hetairai. No uniformity of representation exists within the entire group of early vases with head motifs, however. Male figures were either mortals or daimons. Gods began to be recognizable about the mid sixth century. By the early fifth century still another change took place: the heads often represented underworld or fertility deities rising from the underworld. The earliest Boeotian head vases are four vases dating from the third quarter of the sixth century; they include one woman's head, and are considered to be under strong Athenian influence. (72) The earliest red-figure Theban woman's head vase dates to early in the third quarter of the fifth century, and it is significantly different from the earlier group in that it faces right, has no headdress, and displays a chiton. (73)

The woman's head motif became quite popular in Thebes in the last third of the fifth century and into the fourth. Ure lists twenty-three extant examples, and Pelagatti adds seven others. (74) The motif provides, according to Ure, 'a not insignificant proportion' of the known Boeotian red-figure vases. (75) Almost all of these heads are women's heads. Usually the decoration appears on the lid of a vase (see Plate 8), or as the main decoration on a krater, with a large palmette on the reverse side. Sometimes the subsidiary decorations vary: pictures of a woman washing and of a hippocamp adorn a krater whose lid features a woman's head, two vases have black-figure animal friezes on the body and a red-figure head on the lid, one has a head of Heracles with club on the reverse, another portrays on the reverse Thetis riding a hippocamp and carrying the shield of Achilles (here the head is unusual in that it is accompanied by a crescent moon and has a star in its head-dress), (76) and one bears a head of a youth (or Amazon) with a horse's head. Heads also appear on two lebetes, a kylix, a lekane, and on plates (one man's head appears on a plate).

One of the woman's head vases cited by Pelagatti was found in the great Etruscan necropolis at Spina in Italy. Copies made locally have also been found in this necropolis, (77) as well as another Theban vase, a skyphos with two male figures by the Painter of the Argos cup. (78) The woman's head motif proved even more popular and long lasting in fourth-century Italy than in Thebes, providing the subject for many Apulian vases, which are perhaps the best known of all the woman's head vases. (79) Given the finds at Spina, it is tempting to see a Theban origin for the Italian style, but any conclusions about possible influences must await further publication of the finds from Spina and a general study of the various other occurrences of the motif in the Greek world in the fifth and fourth centuries. (80) Lacking such a study, we can for the present only try to put these vases into the context of the earlier tradition on the Greek mainland. (81)

In the case of the Theban vases, no uniform identification of the figures represented can be established, because of the variations in the accompanying figures and the appearance of men, and perhaps an Amazon, in the group. It is possible that the women on the Theban vases portray underworld or fertility goddesses, as do earlier women's head vases from other Greek cities. This would be in keeping with the Theban tendency toward mystical religious orientation, and with the apparent emphasis upon feminine divinities in the city's cults.

The most outstanding examples of Theban originality in

vase painting are definitely connected with a religious cult. These are the figured vases found at the shrine of the Kabeiroi on the outskirts of Thebes. (82) On these vases a mostly grotesque series of black-figure characters appear in a variety of activities: thus there are banquet scenes in which the Kabeiros and his companion Pais are sometimes portrayed in normal human fashion but with grotesque companions, and procession scenes in which pygmies and satyrs take part, sometimes leading animals (steers, or in one case, a pregnant sow) toward an ithyphallic Herm. On other vases the characters are engaged in caricatures of mythological stories: pygmy figures portray Penelope at her loom, probably entertaining Odysseus; the judgment of Paris; Bellerophon and the Chimaira; and Peleus and Achilles before Chiron (see Plate 9).

The Kabeirion vases appear to be a truly Theban creation, although earlier models have been suggested. The excavators of the site even proposed that the originator of the style may have been an able Athenian craftsman working in the Boeotian tradition. (83) (This seems to reflect the ancient Athenian prejudice against Boeotia: nothing of originality and value can be expected from Thebes; all such creations must be Athenian.) Others attribute the inspiration to the padded dancers of Corinthian pottery. (84) More important, I believe, are the black-figure Boeotian vases dating before 550 and decorated with grotesque festival and games scenes, which Ure cites. (85) She believes that 'curious affinities' between these vases and the fifth-century Kabeirion vases may be signs of an unbroken tradition.

In a case such as this, when similar cult activities took place in various areas of Greece, it would seem to be a case of parallel development of an early shared tradition, rather than of a linear series of borrowing, and Ure's suggestion of local forerunners seems most convincing. Grotesque dances and proto-dramatic performances in connection with cult ceremonies were common to many Greek peoples, who also sometimes shared the practice of portraying these activities on vases. (86) In Athens, the fifth-century development of this type of cult celebration was Attic comedy, brought to an extreme of sophistication by Aristophanes. In Thebes there appears to have been less development away from cultic origins, and 'plots' may not have deviated from simple epic parodies, perhaps improvised, but some sort of dramatic performances formed part of the cult activities. (87) In the late fifth century an inspired Theban vase painter undertook to represent these performances on a series of vases, and

gained great popularity with his work. It has been called the only truly comic Greek vase painting style, (88) and it surely attests to a good sense of humor among the Thebans.

One of the differences between pots and stelai is the degree to which pots travel and can thus provide information about contacts between various areas. It is true that sculptors also travelled, and that these travels can be traced through the diffusion of influences; however, pots can provide a better overall picture, registering trade contacts, or lack of them, as well as occasional travel by a wide range of ordinary people (visits to oracles, games or festivals, travel by exiles, educational travel).

Theban pottery does not seem to have been exported to any extent. The large amount of Theban pottery found at Rhitsona does suggest that Thebes was important in supplying local Boeotian markets, but beyond this Thebes appears to have been mainly an importer, bringing in Attic vases when this was possible (the city would probably have been cut off from these imports during the Peloponnesian War). The few Theban vases found elsewhere appear to have been isolated instances, carried by individual travellers. Thus two vases of the Argos cup group were found in nearby Lokris, (89) a faint hint of contact exists as far away as Olbia, (90) and an interesting imitation of a Fikellura cup was found in Thebes itself. (91) The woman's head vase found at Spina, with its Italian copies, and the skyphos of the Argos workshop found at the same location, do not necessarily point to trade, even though they do show that a local potter found the woman's head motif attractive and found customers for it.

One interesting woman's head krater perhaps offers some insight into the type of contact which was possible between Athens and Thebes in the latter part of the fifth century, possibly during the Peace of Nicias or soon after the end of the war. (92) The woman on this vase wears a head-covering rare on Boeotian vases - a sakkos with a pompom on top (it is also unusual in having a crescent moon beside the head and a star on the head-dress). Ure draws attention to this style as especially fashionable in Athens in the later years of the fifth century. Perhaps a Theban customer - or his wife - ordered this particular style of woman's head-dress after having been attracted by it on a visit to Athens (perhaps the man even brought a sakkos home as a gift to wife or daughter). Ure finds that other elements of the decoration (the tendrils on the back and the quality of the folds) suggest that the painter was influenced to an exceptional degree by Attic masters; a customer interested in the newest Athenian fashion would probably have picked for his

commission one of the more capable and up-to-date painters. Perhaps this is too conjectural, but it is equally conjectural (and perhaps less plausible) to assume that a Theban vase painter visited Athens and was then responsible for adding this new Athenian twist to a popular Theban motif. We do have some evidence that there were visits to Athens by upper-class Thebans during the closing years of the century in Plato's 'Phaedo'. In this context, we should also mention two pieces of Kabeirion ware found in Athens - a mug and a lekythos - which show, as Wolters and Bruns suggest, that there were Athenians who took an interest in Theban affairs, just as there were Thebans who took an interest in Athenian affairs. (93)

Another piece of Kabeirion ware is perhaps the most interesting travelling Theban vase of all. This is a vase, or askos, in the shape of a pig, found in a tomb at Epizephyrian Lokri in southern Italy in 1913. (94) The pig bears a caricatured pygmy scene on each of its sides: a fox hunt is portrayed on one side and a foot race on the other (see Plate 10). The work appears to be that of the Kabeiros painter: (95) not only the caricatured scenes, but also the specific details in the decoration of the vase attest to this: plant types, rendering of the myrtle garland on the pig's neck, the type of fox portrayed and his attitude, the heads of the pygmies and the stick one pygmy is carrying. (96) Its date is 440-420 BC. No explanation has been ventured for the presence of the vase in the tomb; the combination, however, of a Theban object and an Epizephyrian Lokrian findspot invites speculation. Could it have been brought home to Lokri by Plato's Timaeus after a visit to the Pythagoreans in Thebes?

We have no knowledge about Timaeus aside from Plato's dialogue, (97) which tells us that he was well born and wealthy, had held the highest offices and attained the greatest honors which his country could offer, had reached the highest eminence in philosophy ('Timaeus' 20A), was well versed in astronomy, and had made knowledge of the nature of the cosmos his chief concern ('Timaeus' 27A). In the dialogue his role is to describe the genesis of the cosmos, ending with the nature of man; then the account was to pass to Critias, who would deal with human affairs. Timaeus is never identified by Plato as a Pythagorean, and although much of the material in his account is undoubtedly Pythagorean, he borrows also from other pre-Socratic philosophers, especially from Empedocles and Parmenides. (98) Taylor sees his work as 'exactly what we should expect in a fifth century Italian Pythagorean

who was also a medical man ... a deliberate attempt to amalgamate Pythagorean religion and mathematics with Empedoclean biology'. (99) The only clue to Timaeus' age is his record of offices and distinctions. Taylor infers from this that he must be over seventy at the dramatic date of the dialogue, which is 421 BC. (100) while Cornford believes that he was more probably 'a man in middle life'. (101)

In speculating upon who was the owner of the pig askos, other evidence of contact between this Italian city and Thebes should not be overlooked, however. Pindar composed two odes for Hagesidamus of Lokri, the winner in the boys' boxing match in 476. The first of these, a brief ode composed immediately after the victory, is 'Olympian' 11; the second 'Olympian' 10 composed for the same victory, was much later in coming, and Pindar himself apologizes within the ode for the late repayment of his debt. Pindar's introduction to the Lokrians probably came about through his patron, Hieron of Syracuse, who had saved the city from Anaxilas, tyrant of Rhegium in 477; Pindar refers to this incident in 'Pythian' 2.18, composed for Hieron. We can assume that the rulers of the city, after its rescue by Hieron, would have been favorable to him, and that Hagesidamus' father Archestratus was among them. Hagesidamus might have visited the city of Pindar at some time in his life and brought back the small pig. At any rate, he and Timaeus must have been near contemporaries.

The ceramic evidence for contracts between Thebes and Italy consists in the finds of the vases of Spina, and the pig at Epizephyrian Lokris. These apparently isolated finds may reflect, however, a more general level of contact between Thebes and Italy. A general stylistic similarity in the vases produced in the two has attracted notice. (102) Ure mentions the character and prominence of floral motifs in both areas, the portrayal of human figures in silhouette without incision, and the use of a pale clay and a poor glaze, and suggests that these resemblances cannot be explained adequately by appeal to the common relations of the two areas to Ionian or Attic models (as Beazley would have it). Whatever connection there was does not seem at the present time to have been of a commercial nature (although additional finds from Spina may eventually point in this direction), but one of casual travel by a few people between two areas much alike in their life style and conservative agricultural orientation. Such travel, however, may be more significant in the area of intellectual influences than a strictly commercial tie.

Finally, an interesting reflection of Theban interest

in Attic vases is to be found in the 'Acharnians' of Aristophanes (860-958). Dikaiopolis has opened his own market after his private declaration of peace, and one of its visitors is a Boeotian from Thebes who has arrived with a large selection of Theban delicacies, greatly tempting Dikaiopolis. A problem arises, however, over what the Athenian can offer in return, for the Thebans have no need for Athens' most notable export product, its pots. These lines should not be taken too seriously as evidence about the state of the pottery trade between Boeotia and Athens in the late fifth century. The very idea of Boeotians being satisfied with their own pottery was probably a huge joke to an Athenian audience, aware as it was of Athenian excellence in this field and possessed of none too high an opinion of Boeotians in the first place. Moreover, the Boeotian's not wanting Athenian pots is a necessary prerequisite for the coming joke: Athenian ingenuity must be allowed the opportunity to come up with the idea of sending another notable Athenian product to Thebes, a sycophant, packaged as a pot. On the other hand, it certainly is the case that Theban pottery flourished during the years of the war, perhaps partly because of the enforced abstinence from Athenian pottery which the war necessitated, so there may be a grain of truth in Aristophanes' portrayal of the Boeotians' lack of interest in Athenian pots: the Theban product was now more acceptable than it had been in the past.

In summing up the information which we can draw from a consideration of Theban pottery, certain things stand out as especially significant. First, the Theban adaptation of Athenian models is marked by the exercise of considerable selectivity, focusing on older styles, which mirrors similar preferences in the adaptation of Ionian and Attic models in bas-relief sculpture. The pottery shows a preference for black-figure technique and for linear representation, both archaizing features. Thebans were slow to pick up new techniques pioneered in Athens, yet they were not reluctant to move in fresh directions when it suited their own style and interests, as we can see by the woman's head vases and the Kabeirion pottery. Here again we see the same factors at work as we saw in considering the funeral stelai: outstanding talent found original outlets for its expression. Finally, in the matter of foreign contacts, the pottery finds support the conclusion, suggested by other evidence as well, that there were insignificant individual contacts between Thebes and both Italy and Athens in the fifth century: with imagination we can trace the ceramic footsteps of Simmias and Cebes in Athens and of Timaeus - or perhaps Hagesidamus - of Lokri in Thebes.

8 Conclusion

We have now considered a number of individual aspects of Theban life in the fifth century; it remains to draw them together and to see what sort of a general picture emerges. It will be helpful to use the chronological framework provided by the political and military history of the city to do this, although, as we shall see, at least one important aspect of Theban life falls outside its compass.

The overall picture of Theban life in the fifth century is clear and simple: loss and recovery. The city began the century as the dominant member of a loose confederation of Boeotian states, of enough significance in the wider Greek world to attract the attention of both the Peisistratids and the Alkmaeonids at the oracular shrine of Apollo Ptoios. In this period, too, Thebes' own mystery cult, that of the Kabeiroi, underwent a reorganization and received a new direction, beginning a course of expansion and development.

Thebes' happy position at the turn of the century was shattered by the city's medism and the failure of that cause; the consequent loss of reputation and status made the material losses of life, leadership potential, and property all the harder to bear. Despite this, the response of the city was to take up the Herculean task of re-establishing both its material prosperity and its political hegemony. Little record of this effort remains, but we do have the voice of Pindar which speaks from an otherwise nearly silent period, mending his poetic ties with friends in Aegina and building up important relationships in Magna Graecia with the Sicilian tyrants and their entourage. Despite a degree of success in Theban efforts (evidenced by the apparent re-establishment of Theban influence on the shrine of Apollo in Delion in 470), the city was not able to prevent the Athenian takeover of Boeotia in 457, and for ten years Boeotia lay under Athenian control. The real turning point for Thebes came in 447, when the

Boeotians succeeded in expelling the Athenians and established Boeotian independence once again. The Thebans then saw to it that the Boeotian league was reorganized and reconstituted upon a sophisticated numerical basis which allowed for flexibility in the number and internal make-up of league members. The organizational format of the new league gave Thebes subtle advantages, while on the surface the structure preserved the appearance of impartiality. At this crucial point tradition places the arrival of the Pythagorean Lysis, a refugee from the persecution of the Pythagoreans in southern Italy, who may have participated in this restructuring.

The years following 447 witnessed a blossoming of Theban culture on many fronts. Advances were made in music with the cultivation of the flute (possibly also under Pythagorean influence) and the invention of a more versatile form of that instrument; the vase painters working for the Kabeirion reached a peak of creative achievement with their amusing and often grotesque portrayals of cult activities; and the painter Aristides with his creation of the engraved and painted stelai revealed that Theban artists were in the forefront in the employment of new representational techniques. Finally, the immigrant Lysis developed a Pythagorean following which, by the end of the century, was to provide Socrates with two of his most devoted followers; Lysis also provided a Pythagorean education for Epaminondas.

On the military and political front during these years Thebes was actively involved against Athens in the Peloponnesian War, to its own considerable profit. After the defeat of Athens, however, the Thebans moved to help the Athenian democrats in exile, in an effort to foster the now-chastened Athens as a counterweight to Sparta's increased power. The city's ventures beyond Boeotian borders during the war, and its interest in manipulating the balance of power after the war, pointed the way toward the greater role it was soon to play on the Greek scene under the guidance of Epaminondas.

As we remarked at the beginning of this chronological review, however, there is one important aspect of Theban life and thought which slips through the meshes of this framework. This is the question of the role of women in the city and the attitude taken toward them. It is not surprising to find that information about the position of women is almost entirely missing in a sketch based on traditional political and military history, since women played no known political role aside from being transmitters of citizenship. Nevertheless, they made up perhaps half the adult population (we cannot be sure of this, since

natural survival rates may have been affected by infant exposure - for which we have no evidence one way or the other in Thebes - and women's mortality rates in child-birth may well have surpassed those of men in battle). No account of the life of a city can really be adequate which omits approximately half of its citizens. Numerous clues about the life of this submerged group are to be found scattered throughout our material, and it will be useful to collect these here.

Our first mention of women was to note that we have no evidence that they partook in the advantages offered by the agora and gymnasium. This is a salutary place to start, for it is necessary to keep in mind that Theban women were, after all, Greek women, and that their position in Theban society fell within the range of possibility in that wider culture. The question is, where, within that relatively limited range, did their situation fall?

Much evidence comes from poetry. We have seen that women were traditionally held to have been active as poets in Thebes. This poetic activity probably arose as a natural consequence of the importance which maiden-choruses played in Theban cult activity, and the use of women as trainers for these choruses. Such women might on occasion overstep the boundaries of coaching and venture to provide the poetic material themselves, as Sappho did on Lesbos. This choral training was a form of education for young girls, parallel to some extent to the traditional choric education of boys. It provided girls with social contacts and a life outside the home. Similar choral participation was to be found in the Sparta of Alcman and in Sappho's Lesbos; however, it was not really paralleled by the mere participation of girls in religious processions, as at Athens, since such participation does not require the extensive training of choral performance.

The poems and fragments of Pindar also suggest a 'feminist' orientation in Theban religion: those works which described, or were intended for use in, cult ceremonies display an apparent emphasis on women, both as participants in cult activities and as female divinities. In seeming contrast to this situation, if we consider the archaeological evidence from the Kabeirion, we find that women appear to have played little part in that cult. It seems likely, however, that this is a misleading picture, the result of the accidents of archaeological discovery. The role of women in the history and mythology of the cult, the report of a nearby shrine of Demeter Kabeira (not excavated), and the presence at the shrine of the Kabeiroi in Samothrace of a cult of Demeter, all strongly suggest that women at Thebes may have had a 'sister cult' of their own at this important shrine.

In the closely related area of philosophy, the Pythagorean presence in Thebes might be expected to have worked toward enhancing the position of women in the city. Women played an active role in the Pythagorean society, and were supported in this by some sort of theory. Such participation, and the theory behind it, would have been confined to a minority, but the Pythagorean minority included some well-to-do men (at least Simmias and Cebes). One would expect some impact on the society as a whole through them (compare in Athens the philosophically based questioning of the traditional role of women in the late fifth century, which surely filtered through to the society as a whole by such means as Euripidean tragedy and the comedies of Aristophanes).

The crafts also offer us some evidence about women, though it is even harder to interpret than that offered by poetry. We have seen that a preponderance of funerary stelai were devoted to women in the second half of the century (in fact, all the known bas-relief stelai). While it is difficult to draw any conclusions from this, since it might at any time be changed by new finds, it does at this time mark a definite contrast with Athens. There women were in the minority in terms of numbers of stelai, and girls did not appear. At the least, this shows that in Thebes women (and even girls) were considered worthy of relatively extravagant expenditure. Even the portrayals of women on the bas-relief stelai differ from those in Athenian sculpture. They depict far sturdier bodily types, as if the Theban ideal was determined more by capacity for practical day-to-day living in a basically agricultural culture, rather than by a slender and delicate grace more suited to objects of admiration than to active and useful human beings. Finally, we have seen that one of the Theban stelai portrayed a priestess. This illustrates, and perhaps reinforces at least to a small degree, the picture drawn from Pindar of the importance of women in Theban religious life.

In vase painting, one of the outstanding developments of the Theban workshops was the series of woman's head vases. The motif may have spread from Thebes to southern Italy, where it had a long history and attained great popularity among a people whose environment was similar to that of the Thebans: fertile land which produced an abundance of food and a basically agricultural orientation. It is not possible to ascertain the identity of the woman in every case, since various mythical scenes accompany the heads; however, at this period in other Greek cities a connection with mystery cults was developing for similar motifs.

If the woman on the woman's head vases is a specifically Theban divinity, the possibility is raised that such vases were among the 'works of art' awarded to victors in the Theban games according to Pindar ('O'.7.80ff.), a parallel to the Panathenaic vases with their portrayals of the patron goddess of Athens. Or again, the context may have been nuptial: in Spina the motif appears in one burial in a clear wedding context.

What then can be said in summary about the position of women in Thebes? On the one hand, there is no evidence that Theban girls were given the freedom reputedly allowed to Spartan girls, or that they were allowed to participate in exercise or athletics in a formal way (although Theban sculptural portrayals of women suggest an ideal type well suited to an active life). On the other hand, Theban girls do appear to have received a form of choric education, in preparation for their role in cult activities.

If women did in fact have a certain amount of significance in Thebes, as they appear to have had, all the evidence suggests that it was bound up with their religious role (not surprising in an agricultural society). This, perhaps inadvertently, had, however, the added result of improving the general condition of their lives. Thus in the range of possibilities for women in Greek culture, their cult activities and choric education would place them somewhere mid-way along a continuum which had Spartan women at one extreme and Athenian at the other. That they were not alone among Greek women in holding an in-between position is suggested by hints such as the occurrence of funeral stelai for young girls in Ionia, the activities of Sappho and her friends in Lesbos, and the popularity of the woman's head motif in southern Italy. Much more needs to be done in collecting and analyzing the bits and pieces of evidence about women in the various Greek cities; it appears that the result might be a picture which differs considerably from that provided by the Athenian sources along.

We have traced the steps by which Thebes rose from a position of defeat and disgrace to a triumphant renewal of its hegemony over a league cleverly organized to assure that hegemony, and we have seen it move from subjection to Athens to a major role in Athenian defeat. We have also seen it have the political wisdom to assist Athens to regain its lost independence. We have analyzed Theban cults and the city's involvement with Pythagorean philosophy, examined the achievements of provincial art, and found evidence about the life style of an aristocratic oligarchy in the poetry of Pindar. The picture which has

emerged is one of a conservative people, living in a religious atmosphere which centered upon early local heroes and divinities, and emphasized mystery cults and the role of women. Theban conservatism in every field, however, proved itself open to innovation, when that innovation spoke to an interest of its own: witness the late sixth-century reorganization of the cult of the Kabeiroi, the acceptance of Pythagoreanism, the innovations involved in the Kabeirion vases and the engraved stelai, the popularity of the woman's head motif, and the reorganization of the Boeotian league. All this suggests that if Thebes did not always follow exactly the same pattern that Athens did, it was not so much from lack of ability as from an awareness that the pattern itself did not fit its circumstances. For instance, the fact that Thebans did not develop a facility equal to that of the Athenians in debate and oratory, or rival the Athenian expertise in sycophancy, was surely a consequence of their oligarchical form of government, in which there was no need of convincing vast crowds of people from the 'lower classes', rather than a result of a lack of ability with language, as Plutarch's Alcibiades would have it.

Thebes was a city of vast energy and will, coupled with the intelligence to turn these assets to its own purposes, as we can see by its determined recovery and its step-by-step achievement of mastery over its neighbors. Possibly there is a hint of Athenian recognition of this in the portrait of Heracles in Euripides' 'Alcestris'. The hero Admetus *does* behave in a gross and gluttonous manner in his feasting, scandalizing even the servants, and this may well be a slap at Thebes. If so, however, the denouement reveals Heracles to be clever past even our scholarly discerning: despite all our analysis, we still cannot agree whether Heracles truly won his fight with Hades and brought Alcestris back from the dead, or, if he did, whether it was as a reward - or a punishment - for Admetus. Euripides' Heracles is surely a worthy patron for the Thebes which won back its hegemony, and then created the deceptively fair-seeming reorganized Boeotian league.

Appendix:

The position of women in Pythagoreanism

The evidence about the position of women in early Pythagoreanism consists of the following: reports about individual women, including some who are named as pupils of Pythagoras; the list of Pythagorean women which forms part of the 'Catalogue of Pythagoreans' of Iamblichus; (1) and the speeches of Pythagoras. (2) None of this material goes back beyond the late fifth century, and it is not all of the same weight; therefore each type must be examined individually to see what possibility there is that it may reflect fifth-century conditions.

First, names and accounts of individual Pythagorean women occur in the tradition. (3) 'Theano' is a name which recurs, variously identified as the wife of Pythagoras, (4) or his pupil. (5) Diogenes attributes to her a version of the teaching about purity after intercourse which is attributed to Pythagoras himself in the speeches, as well as advice to women to put aside shame when they go to their husbands. (6) A daughter of Pythagoras, Damo, was said in the letter of Lysis to Hippasos to have been entrusted with his memoirs, (7) but she is not found in the 'Catalogue' of Iamblichus, and Burkert suggests that the letter was a third-century forgery. (8) Other daughters are also named: Aisara, (9) Arignote, (10) and Myia (who appears in the 'Catalogue' as the wife of Milon). (11) The survival within the tradition of these names of women, despite some confusion about their actual identity, perhaps in itself implies something about the significance of women in the early days of the society. That some were named as pupils may only reflect conditions in the fourth century and Hellenistic period when the identifications were formulated (and may also reflect the ingenuity of those seeking to maintain the celibacy of Pythagoras), but these bits of tradition are at least suggestive that women may have played some significant role from an early period.

A catalogue of Pythagoreans, including names of both men and women, occurs at the end of Iamblichus' 'Life of Pythagoras'. (12) Its coincidence with material from Aristoxenus led Burkert to the conclusion that Aristoxenus is the only possible candidate for authorship. (13) The list contains sixteen names of women, including some that go back to the time of Pythagoras himself, such as Theano and Myia the wife of Milon, and some which may date to the fourth century (was Echestrateia the daughter of Echekrates of the 'Phaedo'?). No specific formula seems to have been used to generate the list: six women named are related as wives, sisters, or daughters to men named in the 'Catalogue', and three names are feminine forms of men's names which occur there; however, in three cases a male relative is named in the women's section whose name does not occur in the male section of the 'Catalogue', and four women identified only by city have no other connections at all with the 'Catalogue' beyond their own presence in it. This suggests that the women's section was not created simply by the invention of women's names to correspond with men named in the 'Catalogue'. The discordance between the men's and the women's sections may be due to the fact that the list of women had an independent source; possibly it was drawn from the 'synagoge heroidon etoi Pythagoreion gynaikon' of Philochorus (14) by Aristoxenus (this is just barely possible chronologically: Aristoxenus was born c.375-360, Philochorus held office in 306 and was executed shortly after 261/260). The important point is that there were as many as sixteen names of women preserved in the tradition; this in itself seems to attest to a degree of participation and involvement of women which we, depending mostly on Athenian sources which deal with the Athenian situation, would consider highly unusual in Greek society of the time.

Of the four speeches attributed to Pythagoras in Iamblichus, the speech addressed to the women, (15) and a portion of that addressed to the men, (16) contain material which is helpful in arriving at an understanding of the position of women in Pythagoreanism. The points covered in the speech addressed to the women are as follows:

- 1 Admonitions about sacrifices: moral excellence is important when sacrificing; sacrifices should be prepared with one's own hands and taken to the altar without the help of servants; bloody sacrifices and large sacrifices are to be avoided.
- 2 Never oppose your husband; rather, in giving in to him consider yourself the victor.

- 3 Sexual relations within marriage never render a woman unclean, those outside of marriage always do.
- 4 Speak little and modestly, and give no cause for blame. Take care to preserve the reputation for 'dikaiosyne' which poets have attributed to women because they lend and borrow without witnesses, lawsuits or quarrels - this reputation is expressed by poets in the myth of the three Graiai who amicably shared one eye among themselves.
- 5 Praise of women's piety: names of divinities are given to women at various stages of life: Kore, Nympe, Meter, Maia; the oracles at Dodona and Delphi are communicated by women.
- 6 The example of Odysseus, who refused to forsake Penelope even for the immortality promised by Calypso, is cited as setting a challenge to women to show similar fidelity to their husbands.

In the speech to the men, husbands are urged to practise fidelity and to treat their wives as supplicants whom they have brought into their homes in the presence of the gods ('VP' 48); the use of concubines is also discouraged ('VP' 48); and the separation of children from their parents is named as the greatest crime ('VP' 49).

It seems to be agreed that the speeches of Pythagoras were composed in the late fifth or early fourth century, for they fit the rhetorical and stylistic patterns of this period. (17) Although on first consideration the speeches appear to support a traditional view of the position of women (see especially no.2 above), a more careful analysis shows several points which seem to be critical of received traditions about the relationship between the sexes: a new rule about ritual purity and sexual relations is proposed, fidelity is required of husbands as well as wives, husbands are urged to treat wives as suppliants, separation of children from parents is named as the greatest crime, and women are praised for both 'dikaiosyne' and piety. Some of these points seem to be responses to other ideas which were put forward in the late fifth century: the passage about the 'dikaiosyne' of women has close parallels with Aristophanes' 'Ecclesiazusae' 446ff., (18) while the advice to husbands to treat wives as suppliants addresses a problem which is recognized in the 'Medea' of Euripides (230ff.); the praise of women in the speeches also has a counterpart in the 'Medea', when the chorus says that such praise will come only when rivers turn back to their springs (410ff.); while the statement about separating children from parents may have been aimed at some proposal advocating such separation, such as we find somewhat later

in Plato's 'Republic' (unless it is to be translated, 'alienation', as in Plato, 'Laws' 875A). Without trying to trace in detail the various currents of thought on the subject of the treatment of women in the late fifth and early fourth centuries, it seems clear that this Pythagorean pamphlet arises out of a context similar to that in Athens, and that it makes suggestions which, though comparatively moderate, are still in the reformist stream.

The evidence does not allow us to determine the exact status of a Pythagorean woman (whether it was in all things exactly that of a man seems unlikely, in the face of the speech to the women), but it does suggest that women did play some sort of active role within the Pythagorean cult and society, and that this participation was supported by some sort of a theoretical foundation. The tradition can picture women as pupils and sources of wise advice; not all Pythagorean women are identified by their male relative, so we must even allow the possibility of independent female membership. The evidence is slim, but in the obscurity which envelops the history of women, it appears as a comparatively bright spot.

Notes

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

- 1 B.V. Head, *On the Chronological Sequence of the Coins of Boeotia*, pp. 30-3 and Pl. 2; Colin M. Kraay, *Archaic and Classical Greek Coins*, p. 111 and #351-4. See Plate 1.
- 2 The Greek recognition of resemblances between deity and worshipper, working to the benefit of the latter, can be seen in the 'Odyssey', where Athena admits that she shows special favor to Odysseus because he is like her ('Od.' 13.287-99).
- 3 Pindar 'O'.6.90, c. 472 BC; Plut. 'De esu carniū' i, 6.
- 4 Aristophanes, 'Ach.' 860-958.
- 5 Plutarch, 'Alcibiades' 2.
- 6 This interesting suggestion that plays upon the special relationship between Thebes and Heracles (for which, see Isocrates Philip. 88) was made as early as 1792 in Karl Böttiger's 'Pallas Musica und Apollo, der Marsyasbitter', in Wieland's *Attischen Museum*, 1792, vol.1, pt 2, 279-385, and later elaborated by Edmond Pottier, *Recueil Edmond Pottier*, pp. 352-72: the portrait of Heracles as glutton and buffoon, which appears in the 'Alcestis' of Euripides and the 'Frogs' of Aristophanes, was created as a deliberate slur upon Thebes and Boeotia. Coupled with the dramatic attacks, Pottier also cites a change in the use of mythological imagery on Attic vases in the sixth and fifth centuries: the popularity of Heracles diminishes and his role is taken over by Theseus.
- 7 Earlier work dealing with Thebes or Boeotia from a broader cultural viewpoint goes back to 1895, when the Boeotians were defended against the charge of 'Boeotian

pig' by W. Rhys Roberts in *The Ancient Boeotians*; again, in 1948 the Thebans found a defender in Pierre Guillon, who made special reference to the Athenian transformation of Heracles into a buffoon and the parallel enhancement of the Athenian national hero Theseus in *La Béotie Antique*. Both Roberts and Guillon went beyond political events to discuss the art, music and literature of Boeotia as a whole, although without going into much detail. Other work on Thebes or Boeotia has concentrated on political history almost entirely. This includes the 1879 dissertation of Moritz Müller, *Geschichte Thebens von der Einwanderung der Boioter bis zur Schlacht bei Koroneai*, the 1949 Heidelberg dissertation of Heinrich Vogelsang, *Theben und Boiotien*, the article, 'Thebai (Boiotien)' by F. Schober in *RE*, 1934, vol. 5A, pt 2, cols 1423ff., and a book by Paul Cloché, *Thèbes de Béotie des origines à la conquête romaine*, which has a brief excursus on Pindar and a four page treatment of the arts in the fifth century. The 1975 dissertation of C.J. Dull, *A Study of the Leadership of the Boeotian League from the Invasion of the Boiotoi to the King's Peace*, and also his article in *CP*, 1977, vol. 72, pp. 305-15, have as their aim to reassert the claim that Thebes was the leader of the league after 447 BC, in opposition to Larsen's claim of Orchomenian leadership in *CP*, 1960, vol. 55, pp. 9-18. Finally, R.J. Buck's *A History of Boeotia* contains material on Thebes and its position within the league at various periods, as well as detailed analysis of the mythological traditions.

CHAPTER 2 THE CITY

- 1 For a recent discussion of Boeotian topography, with bibliography, see Robert J. Buck, *A History of Boeotia*. For more detailed treatments of Thebes, see J.G. Frazer, *Pausanias's Description of Greece*, vol. 5; Keramopoullos, 'Thebaïka', *AD*, 1917, vol. 3; and Pharaklas' report on the city in *AD*, 1967, vol. 22, pt B-1, p. 247, in which archaeological evidence is correlated with literary and mythological references, and the most recent opinion on the locations of ancient landmarks is given.
- 2 H.N. Ulrichs, *Reisen und Forschungen in Griechenland*, vol. 2, pp. 4-6.
- 3 T.G. Tucker, *The Seven Against Thebes of Aeschylus*, p. xxxviii.

- 4 Keramopoulos, op.cit., pp. 464-78; see map of Boeotia.
- 5 Ibid., pp. 296-8; Pharaklas, op. cit., pp. 248ff.
- 6 Hdt. 9.41; see map of Thebes.
- 7 Keramopoulos, op. cit., p. 288.
- 8 Hdt. 9.86-8.
- 9 'Hellenica Oxyrhynchia' 12.3.
- 10 Thuc. 1.108; Diod. 11.81; Keramopoulos, op. cit., pp. 290f.
- 11 Thuc. 1.108 on Athenian control of Boeotia; Aristotle speaks of a period of democratic government in Thebes at 'Pol.' 1302b29; Thuc. 3.62 on Thebes' medism; 'Hell. Oxy.' 12.1 on pro- and anti-Lacedaemonian parties.
- 12 Aristotle, 'Pol.' 1278a25-6.
- 13 Athenaeus X, 417-18 collects literary references to the gluttony of the Thebans.
- 14 Aristophanes, 'Ach.' 860ff., 'Peace' 1004f.; A. Philippson and H. Lehmann, *Die Griechischen Landschaften* I, part 2, p.520 lists the following Boeotian products supplied to Athens in classical times: barley, garden vegetables, birds, horses, cattle, fish, and wagon seats from Thebes.
- 15 Pindar, Frag. 95 (Bowra).
- 16 Aristophanes, 'Ach.' 860ff.; on flutes, see Chapter 6.
- 17 For a review of the controversy, see Ruth B. Edwards, *Kadmos the Phoenician*, pp. 129ff.
- 18 See *ibid.*, p. 131, n. 142.
- 19 Pindar, 'O'.7.80-7 relates the victories of Diagoras of Rhodes; see Chapter 6.
- 20 Hesiod, 'Works and Days', 618-94.
- 21 Ps.-Xenophon, 'The Old Oligarch'; for a philosophical exposition, see Plato, 'Laws' 705-8.
- 22 This is a point stressed by C.J. Dull, *A Study of the Leadership of the Boeotian League from the Invasion of the Boiotoi to the King's Peace*, pp.75, 83.
- 23 Xen. 'Hell.' 5.2.29.
- 24 Keramopoulos, op. cit., p. 288.
- 25 Pharaklas, op. cit., p. 231 and Pl. 162d; a number of burials at Pyri are reported in AD, 1966, vol. 21, pt B-1, pp. 197ff.; 1967, vol. 22, pt B-1, pp. 236f.; 1968, vol. 23, pt B-1, p.221; 1969, vol. 24, pt B-1, p. 176; 1971, vol. 26, pt B-1, pp. 211-13.
- 26 See note 9.
- 27 All locations are given according to Pharaklas, op. cit., pp. 247ff.
- 28 For discussions of these elements of the city, see R.E. Wycherley, *How the Greeks Built Cities*; L. Martin, *Recherches sur l'agora grecque*; J. Delorme, *Gymnasion*.

- 29 In the time of Pausanias the agora was on the Kadmeia, in the place identified as the House of Kadmos (9.12.3), but the agora of the classical period stood in the lower city, identified by its temple of Artemis Eukleia (Plut. 'Arist.' 20); Paus. 9.17.2-3; Ulrichs, op. cit., vol. 2, pp. 4-6.
- 30 On the coffee-house, see The New York Times, August 10, 1980, section 1, p.9.
- 31 Plut. 'Pelop.' 18.

CHAPTER 3 THEBAN POLITICAL AND MILITARY HISTORY DURING THE FIFTH CENTURY

- 1 Histories of Thebes include Moritz Müller, *Geschichte Thebens von der Einwanderung der Boioter bis zur Schlacht bei Koroneia*; Heinrich Vogelsang, *Theben und Boiotien*; Paul Cloché, *Thèbes de Béotie*. The unpublished dissertation of C. Dull, *A Study of the Boeotian League from the Invasion of the Boiotoi to the King's Peace*, Wisconsin, 1975, treats those aspects of Theban history which have to do with the League (see especially Chapter IV). The most recent history of Boeotia is that of Robert J. Buck, *A History of Boeotia*.
- 2 Martin Oswald, *Nomos and the Beginnings of the Athenian Democracy*, chapter 3, especially p. 113.
- 3 Ibid., p. 180.
- 4 Ibid., p. 118, n. 5.
- 5 I.A.F. Bruce, *An Historical Commentary on the 'Hellenica Oxyrhynchia'*, pp. 160-1.
- 6 Hdt. 5.67; 1.52, 61; L. Bizard, 'Inscriptions du Ptoion (1903)', BCH, 1920, vol. 44, pp.227-41.
- 7 Known to us in its 395 BC form in section 11 of the 'Hellenica Oxyrhynchia', see B.P. Grenfell and A.S. Hunt, *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, vol. 5, pp. 110-242; V. Bartoletti, *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia*; Bruce, op.cit.,; translation and commentary on section 11 in J.M. Moore, *Aristotle and Xenophon on Democracy and Oligarchy*, pp. 125-234.
- 8 Bruce, op. cit., pp. 159-60.
- 9 Ibid., pp. 106-7.
- 10 Thus it is unsure whether the two districts allotted to Plataea, Scolos, Erythrai, Scaphai, and an undetermined number of other towns, under Theban control in 395, were part of the original constitution or whether they were added in 427 when Thebes destroyed Plataea, as Bruce, op. cit., pp. 105-6 suggests. Larsen argued that Orchomenos probably controlled three

districts in 447, losing one when Chaeronea was detached from its sphere of control (Greek Federal States, p.34), and that Plataea, although an Athenian ally, originally controlled the two districts in its area (CP, 1960, vol. 55, p. 12), but this, especially the latter suggestion, seems highly improbable. The analysis of the Boeotian districts by Salmon allots Scolos, Erythrai, Scaphai and Hysiae (but not Plataea) to Thebes in 447, as ancient possessions regained (REA, 1956, vol. 69, pp. 52-6).

- 11 Bruce, op. cit., p. 103.
- 12 Buck, op. cit., chapter 7.
- 13 Herodotus 6.108; calculating from Thuc. 3.68, the date was 519. Grote argued for a date of 509, on the grounds that Cleomenes was unlikely to have been in Boeotia in 519 but was there in 509 (History of Greece, vol. 4, p. 94, no. 1); Grote is followed by G. Busolt, Griechische Geschichte, vol. 2, p. 399, no.4; and by M. Amit, AC, 1970, vol. 39, pp. 414-26. Thucydides' date of 519 is accepted by Hammond, Historia, 1955, vol. 4, p. 389; L. Moretti, Ricerche sulle leghe greche, pp. 105-8; and Buck, op. cit., chapter 8 and CP, 1972, vol. 67, p. 98, nn. 27 and 28. I also prefer Thucydides' date.
- 14 Dull, op. cit., pp. xii-xiii, 28. Thus Herodotus speaks of 'Boeotarchs' at 9.15, and uses 'Thebans' when he clearly means 'Boeotians', at 9.16; 5.81, 89; 6.108.2, 3, 5.
- 15 The standard work on Boeotian coinage is B.V. Head, On the Chronological Sequence of the Coins of Boeotia, see pp. 13-18. The earliest issues (Type I, 660-550, and Type II, 550-480) are probably dated too early by Head; see W.P. Wallace, 'The early coinages of Athens and Euboia', NumChron, 1962, 7th series, vol. 2, p. 38, n. 1.
- 16 Wallace, *ibid.*
- 17 Wallace, *ibid.*
- 18 There is the probability that the common coinage could be evidence only of a monetary agreement, as was the case with the Lesbian coins of Mytilene and Methymna in approximately the same period (end of the sixth century to mid fifth century), see E. Babelon, *Traité des Monnaies Grecques et Romaines*, vol. 2, pp. 339ff. For a possible similar agreement on Cos, see Susan M. Sherwin-White, *Ancient Cos*, pp. 45f.
- 19 Buck, op. cit., p. 125.
- 20 Thus L. Moretti, op. cit., pp. 99f.; P. Guillon, *Le Bouclier d'Héraclès*, *Annales de la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines d'Aix*, 1963, vol. 37, p. 66, n.81;

- Müller, op. cit., p. 7; J.A.O. Larsen, Representative Government, 22f., and Greek Federal States, p. 28; Cloché, op. cit., pp. 17f. But see Buck, op. cit., chapter 8, and J. Ducat, BCH, 1973, vol. 97, pp. 59-73.
- 21 Dull, op. cit., p. 129, on the basis of the coinage.
 - 22 Thus M. Amit, RSA, 1971, vol. 1, p. 62; on the evidence of the coins, see Head, op. cit., pp. 20-3; B.H. Fowler, Phoenix, 1957, vol. 11, pp. 164-70.
 - 23 Hdt. 7.173; Ephorus ap. Diod. XI,3.2; Plut. 'De Her. mal.' 864E.
 - 24 de Sanctis, RFIC, 1930, vol. 8, pp. 339ff.; Sordi, Rend. Ins.Lomb.Sci.Lett., 1953, vol. 86, pp. 305ff.
 - 25 The most thorough recent discussion of this problem, and, in my view, the most acceptable modern hypothesis about the content of Alexander's message, is provided by N. Robertson, JHS, 1976, vol. 96, pp. 100-20.
 - 26 ap. Diod. XI.3.2.
 - 27 G. Hignett, Xerxes' Invasion of Greece, p. 23, objects that proper names need not guarantee statements, but his case rests upon the use of a name passed on in gossip (the Euboean who allegedly bribed Themistokles); names of officials belong in another class of evidence, and do carry weight since Greek cities are known to have kept such records.
 - 28 Hdt. 8.220. The hostage question is treated by Plutarch, who offers a number of counterarguments from probability: 'De Her. mal.' 865C-E.
 - 29 Paus. IX.21.2; also II.16.4. Was Pausanias perhaps led to this view by Diod. XI.65.2, or by Diodorus' source here, possibly one of the local histories of Argos to which Pausanias makes frequent reference (I.13.8; II.19.4, 22.3, 23.8): at Thermopylae the Mycenaean alone of those dwelling in the Argolid fought with the Lacedaemonians? Diodorus is recounting the background to the war between the Mycenaean and the Argives in 468; the reference of course need not be to the final stand at Thermopylae.
 - 30 Plut. 'De Her. mal.' 867A; see Jacoby, FGrHist., vol. 3, B. #379, fr. 6; Müller, op. cit., pp. 42f.; Buck's theory that Anaxandros was the Theban polemarch and Leontiades the Boeotarch, op. cit., p. 129; CP, 1974, vol. 69, p. 47, rests upon his thesis that the League in its early fourth-century form, as described by P, went back to the late sixth century, as well as upon his acceptance of Herodotus' anachronistic use of the term 'Boeotarch' at 9.15; see note 14 above.
 - 31 For a discussion of the problems involved and references to the considerable previous literature on Mys, see Georges Daux, 'Mys ai Ptoion', Hommages à

- Waldemar Deonna, *Collection Latomus*, 1957, vol. 28, pp. 157-62.
- 32 Plut. 'De defectu oraculorum', 5.
- 33 See W.W. How and J. Wells, *A Commentary on Herodotus*, vol. 2, p. 287.
- 34 Heinrich Bischoff, *Der Warner bei Herodot*, see esp. pp. 72-5.
- 35 See P.E. Legrand, 'De la malignité d'Hérodote', *Mélanges Gustave Glotz*, vol. 2, pp. 535-47; Lionel Pearson's introduction to Plutarch's 'Moralia', vol. 11, pp. 2ff.; and most recently Alan Wardman, *Plutarch's Lives*, pp. 189-96.
- 36 Head, *op. cit.*, p. 23.
- 37 See *ibid.*, pp. 20-3, and Fowler, *op. cit.*
- 38 Plut. 'De Her. mal.' 867A.
- 39 Text by Bowra; translation by Lattimore.
- 40 Hdt. 9.69; U. von Wilamowitz, *Pindaros*, pp. 331.5 accepts the identification, but see E. Thummer, *Pindar, Die Isthmischen Gedichte*, vol. 2, p.8 and n. 4.
- 41 Schol. 'I'.1.52 (Drach., vol. 3, p. 205).
- 42 So Georges Méautis, *Pindare le Dorien*, p. 256; Schwenn, *RE*, 1950, vol. 40, col. 1671, 'Pindaros'; L.R. Farnell, *A Critical Commentary to the Works of Pindar*, vol. 2, p. 347.
- 43 J.B. Bury, *The Isthmian Odes of Pindar*, p. 51.
- 44 Thummer, *op. cit.*, p. 57.
- 45 Méautis, *op. cit.*, p. 261.
- 46 *Ibid.*, pp. 307-8.
- 47 For other hints of a connection between the two, see L.R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States*, vol. 3, p.52; vol. 4, p. 19.
- 48 I accept the traditional dates for the battles of Tanagra and Oenophyta, rather than those proposed by B.D. Meritt, H.T. Wade-Gery, and M.F. McGregor, *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, vol. 3, pp. 158-80. On this question, see R. McNeal, *Historia*, 1970, vol. 19, pp. 306-25.
- 49 Keramopoullos interprets this (unfinished) extension of the Theban walls as a counter-action on the part of the Thebans to the building of the long walls by the Athenians, *AD*, 1917, vol. 3, pp. 291-6.
- 50 Especially R.J. Buck, *CP*, 1970, vol. 65, pp. 217-27 and *op. cit.*, 1979, pp. 145-6. Buck rejects Diodorus totally, on the basis of the existence of discrepancies with Thucydides and the existence of internal confusions. I believe that understanding of the probable sources of Diodorus' confusion allows us to use his account selectively, rather than rejecting the good along with the bad.

- 51 E.M. Walker, CAH, vol. 5, p. 82.
- 52 D.W. Reece, JHS, 1950, vol. 70, pp. 75f. argues that the 10,000 allied troops were not brought by the Spartans from the Peloponnesus at the beginning of the expedition, but were mainly composed of Boeotians who joined the Spartans in Boeotia. He accepts Diodorus' statement that Sparta restored Thebes to hegemony.
- 53 See note 22 above.
- 54 Ephorus is Diodorus' main source here according to G.L. Barber, *The Historian Ephorus*, pp. 89-94.
- 55 'A strongly biased Athenian source', according to *ibid.*, p. 134; see also pp. 92ff.
- 56 A somewhat similar scenario is suggested by G. Busolt, *Griechische Geschichte*, vol. 3, p. 319, n. 2.
- 57 Thus A.W. Gomme, *An Historical Commentary on Thucydides*, vol. 1, p. 318; Larsen, CP, 1960, vol. 55, p. 9 ends Athenian control with the end of the democracy, but his view of Thebes as an 'independent island' in a sea of Athenian control seems improbable, and he gives no reasons for his belief that in citing an Athenian affair in Boeotia as an instance of unsuccessful Athenian support for aristocrats, pseudo-Xenophon, 'Ath. Pol.' 3.11 refers to 'some unknown situation ... between 479 and 461', rather than to this period. G.W. Bowersock, HSCP, 1966, vol. 71, pp. 33-46, does offer convincing arguments that pseudo-Xenophon refers to conditions in about 446.
- 58 For a discussion, see Russell Meiggs, *The Athenian Empire*, pp. 158-63.
- 59 Cloché, *op. cit.*, pp. 69ff. takes this position.
- 60 Larsen, *op. cit.*, 1960, pp. 9-18.
- 61 See Larsen, *Greek Federal States*, p. 34; and Buck, *op. cit.*, 1979, pp. 150ff. Dull presents an extensive and convincing refutation of the thesis in his dissertation, *op. cit.*, chapter 1, and in CP, 1977, vol. 72, pp. 305-14.
- 62 Müller, *op. cit.*, pp. 68-70 and n. 2 on p. 69; Arist. 'Pol.' 1.278a25-26.
- 63 Amit, *op. cit.*, argued that this reorganization occurred under Athenian auspices in 457-447, but it seems unlikely that Athens would have strengthened Boeotian unity in this way; see Meiggs, *op. cit.*, p. 176.
- 64 Bruce, *op. cit.*, p. 104.
- 65 *Ibid.*, p. 108.
- 66 Head, *op. cit.*, pp. 30-8.
- 67 'Hell. Ox.' 11.4; see Bruce, *op. cit.*, pp. 109, 163.
- 68 G. Glotz, BCH. 1908, vol. 32, pp. 271-8.

- 69 G. Glotz, *Histoire grecque*, vol. 1, p. 469, refuted by Pierre Lévêque and Pierre Vidal-Naquet, *Clisthène L'Athénien*, pp. 91ff.
- 70 *Ibid.*, pp. 95-9.
- 71 Larsen, *TAPA*, 1955, vol. 86, p. 47.
- 72 *Iambl.* 'VP' 249f.
- 73 Polybius 2.39; see K. von Fritz, *Pythagorean Politics in Southern Italy*, pp. 72-4.
- 74 Arist., 'Ath. Pol.' 30; Bruce, *op. cit.*, p. 160; Moore, *op. cit.*, p. 261; Larsen, *op. cit.*, 1955, pp. 40-50.
- 75 In the following summary, some actions are included which the sources attribute simply to the Boeotians; Theban hegemony in the League makes it reasonable to consider these as involving Thebans as well, especially since a Theban leader is often mentioned.
- 76 Thuc. 2.2ff; Diod. 12.41ff.; Hdt. 7.233; Ps.-Demos. 'Ag. Neaira' 98ff.
- 77 Dull, *op. cit.*, p. 74.
- 78 *Ibid.*, p. 75.
- 79 Thuc. 4.76, 89-101; Diod. 12.69-70.
- 80 See L.H. Jeffery, *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece*, 19a and b, plate 10.
- 81 'IG' 1²36.
- 82 Paul Roesch, *Thespies et la Confédération Béotienne*, p. 41.
- 83 Thuc. 5.22-25; Diod. 12.75.3-76.1; Dio Chrysostom 37.17 (Dindorf II.297-8).
- 84 Thuc. 7.27-8; Diod. 13.9.2; 'Hell. Ox.' 12.3-4.
- 85 Diod. 13.47.3-8; Strabo 9.2.2.
- 86 Xen. 'Hell.' 1.3.15, 17, 21-2.
- 87 Diod. 13.98.4; 13.99.5-6.
- 88 Xen. 'Hell.' 2.2.19-20; 3.5.8.
- 89 Xen. 'Hell.' 3.5.5; Plut. 'Lys.' 27.
- 90 Dull, *op. cit.*, p. 86.
- 91 Diod. 14.61; 14.32.1-33; Lysias, fr. CXX, p. 373 (Thalheim); Justin 5.9; Xen. 'Hell.' 2.4.213. See Cloché, *op. cit.*, pp. 320-3.
- 92 *Ibid.*, pp. 95-100.

CHAPTER 4 THE CULTS OF FIFTH-CENTURY THEBES

- 1 See Figure 3 on page 50. The basic ancient source for the cults of Thebes is, of course, Pausanias, but other information comes from a wide variety of ancient sources, as indicated in the individual notes. For the interpretation of this material, I have often turned to modern specialists in the area of religious

studies, even though their interests often diverge from mine. In particular, the Ur cults postulated by scholars for various cults will not be considered in most cases; whether a particular god was originally a chthonic deity, mountain god, or vegetation god in some primeval day is a question which would probably never have occurred to a fifth-century Theban. For similar reasons, other theories about the origins of myth will not be considered, such as the theory that myths derive from rites, postulated most recently by Walter Burkert, *Homo Necans*.

The most basic and important modern secondary sources for the Theban cults are L.R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States*, and L. Ziehen, 'Thebai (Boiotien)' *RE*, 1934, vol. 5, pt 2, cols 1492-553. Ziehen offers the most recent comprehensive treatment of Theban cults; important material, however, has appeared since 1934 which must now be taken into consideration; moreover, Ziehen limits his insight into one of the more important aspects of the Theban cult system when he chooses to deal with each cult in isolation, adopting an alphabetical principle of organization. Discussion of the cults within the context of their own family groups reveals and stresses the inner logic which the cult system possessed, and which will, I hope, contribute to a better appreciation of the significance of these cults within their contemporary historical and cultural context.

- 2 See Introduction, esp. note 6. Isocrates said that the Thebans honored Heracles above all other deities ('Philipp.' 88).
- 3 H.J. Rose, s.v. 'Heracles', *OCD*.
- 4 Nicander, ap. Antoninus Liberalis, *Metamorph.* 29; see Manolis Papathomopoulos, ed., *Antoninus Liberalis, Les Metamorphoses*.
- 5 Aelian 'NA' 12.5; Papathomopoulos, op. cit., notes on section 29, pp. 135-8.
- 6 Paus. 9.16.7; Plut. 'De gen. Soc.' 577E ff.
- 7 Perhaps the temple occupied the site of the present church of Hagios Nikolaos. This was held to be the case by H.N. Ulrichs, *Reisen und Forschungen in Griechenland*, vol. 2, p. 12, and Ernst Fabricius, *Theben*, p. 22. Not excavated.
- 8 On the hypothesis of an earlier Praxiteles, see H.G. Frazer, *Pausanias's Description of Greece*, vol. 5, on Paus. 1.2.4.
- 9 Pindar, 'I' 1.15 ff., 5.32 f., 7.9; 'P' 2 (games of Iolaos), 9.76-88.
- 10 Plut. 'Pelop.' 18.

- 11 See Ziehen, op. cit., and Farnell, op. cit., pp. 151-2.
- 12 Ruth Edwards has discussed the sources, development and interpretation of this legend in her book, *Kadmos the Phoenician*, chapter 2.
- 13 The question is given extensive and careful treatment by Edwards, *ibid.*, who finds the Phoenician (or 'Proto-Phoenician' Ugaritic) origin most likely, though not proved, and an explanation which would identify the 'Phoenicians' as Cretans the next most likely. The most influential skeptic has been A.W. Gomme, *JHS*, 1913, vol. 33, pp. 53-72, 223-45, who argued that the Phoenician connection was an invention of the logographers. He was followed by Ziehen, who then viewed Kadmos as only a local mountain god who had gradually faded to become only an epithet of Dionysos, and by E. Vermeule, 'Kadmos and the Dragon', in *Studies Presented to George M.A. Hanfmann*. Edwards has, I believe, effectively refuted Gomme's theory (see Chapter 4).
- 14 The seals were accepted as strong evidence for oriental settlement by J. Fontenrose, *CP*, 1966, vol. 61, p. 189, J.M. Sasson, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 1966, vol. 86, p. 135, n. 53, and N.G.L. Hammond, *A History of Greece to 322 B.C.*, p. 654. Edwards, op. cit., pp. 133f. points out possible alternative explanations as reasons for caution, but finds the balance of evidence in favor of some sort of small settlement. On the finds from Ugarit, with bibliography, see Edwards op. cit., pp. 122-8.
- 15 Ziehen doubts its existence as a cult in historical times, but Farnell sees it only as of lessened importance, op. cit., vol. 5, pp. 401f.
- 16 Line 105; see *AD*, 1917, vol. 3, pp. 444f.
- 17 Xen. 'Hell.' 5.2.29; Plut. 'Pelop.' 5.
- 18 Hesychius, s.v. 'Ongkas Athenas'.
- 19 H.N. Ulrichs, op.cit., vol.2, p.15; Ernst Fabricius, op. cit., p. 28; Wilamowitz, *Hermes*, 1891, vol. 26, p. 217.
- 20 Ino: Pindar 'P.' 11.2, as interpreted by Ziehen; Plut. 'Lacon. Apop. Lyk.' 26; Semele: Paus. 9.12.3-4.
- 21 Apollod. 3.4.2-3 and 1.9.2.
- 22 E. Will, *Korinthiaka*, p. 178 and n. 3.
- 23 Most of this is inferred for Thebes from other Boeotian cities; see Ziehen, op. cit., and Farnell, op. cit., vol. 5, pp. 151ff.
- 24 Otto Kern, *Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Maeander*, #215.
- 25 Photius, s.v. 'lusioi teletai'.
- 26 Farnell, op. cit., vol. 5, p. 120

- 27 See D.L. Page, *Greek Literary Papyri*, pp. 60-71.
- 28 Keramopoulos, *AD*, 1917, vol. 3, pp. 455 and 303 maintains that Kadmos built the palace but no other walls.
- 29 Marta Sordi, *Atene e Roma*, 1966, vol. 11, pp. 15-24, interprets otherwise, seeing the Kadmeian legend as the product of the propaganda of Delphi against Thebes and its league, while Vian looks beyond the racial distinction for a deeper significance in terms of Dumézil's theory of a universal Indo-European tripartite social structure (priest-king, military, and demos). In this theoretical interpretation Amphion and Zethos fill the role of the second function; as such they play a necessary and complementary role, and their foundation legend is a complement, not a competitor, of the Kadmeian legend (Francis Vian, *Les Origins de Thèbes, Cadmos et les Spartes*, especially chapter 11). Although I do not subscribe to the tripartite theory as a universal tool of analysis, in this case the story that only the hipparchs knew the location of Dirke's tomb and that the outgoing and incoming hipparchs joined in offering secret sacrifice to her suggests that there may have been a strong relationship between the Theban military organization and the myth of Amphion and Zethos. Were the hipparchs propitiating Dirke as the representatives of her murderers, Amphion and Zethos?
- 30 A detailed attempt to analyze and wring history out of the various elements of mythical 'history' in these foundation stories is made by R.J. Buck, *A History of Boeotia*, chapter 3. His conclusion is similar to mine: 'None of the traditions inspires any confidence'.
- 31 See *AAA*, 1971, vol. 4, pp. 161-4; 1972, vol. 5, pp. 16-27.
- 32 L.R. Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults*, pp. 332-4.
- 33 Paus. 9.23.1; Eur. 'Phoen.' 834-1017; Wilamowitz, *De Euripidis Heraclidis*, p. x. accepted by Kroll, *RE*, 1931, vol. 29, col. 918.
- 34 Paus. 9.8.1; Homer, 'Od.' 15.247; Pindar, 'N.' 9.51ff.; 'N.' 10.4; 'O.' 6.24f.; Aesch. 'Seven Against Thebes', 570f.; Hdt. 1.46, 49, 52; 8.134; Strabo 9.1.22.
- 35 Hdt. 8.134; that Herodotus was referring to the oracle near Thebes (later moved to Oropus at some time between this date and 415/414) is argued by Ulrichs, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, pp. 63f., and Basileios Petrakos, *O Oropos kai to Hieron tou Amphiarau*, pp. 66ff.; excavation finds support this, see *AD*, 1917, vol. 3, pp. 261-6.

- 36 See Weicker, RE, 1912, vol. 15, col. 258.
- 37 See von Geisau, RE, 1963, vol. 47, col. 78. She appears without name in Apollodor. 2.4.11.
- 38 Pharaklas, AD, 1967, vol. 22, Chron., p. 253.
- 39 Proclus, ap. Phot. 'Bibl.' 239, p. 321AB (Bekker); he says that it was held every ninth year.
- 40 Hdt. 8.135; Strabo 9.2.34; excavation reports in BCH from 1884; see J. Ducat, *Les Kouroi du Ptoion*, and S. Lauffer, RE, 1959, vol. 46, cols 1506-78.
- 41 The debate over the date of Theban control is an involved one; see P. Guillon, *Les Trépieds du Ptoion*, pp. 116-25; *Le Bouclier d'Héraclès*. *Annales de la Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines d'Aix*, 1963, vol. 37, chapter LV; Ducat, op. cit., pp. 246-51.
- 42 Wilamowitz, *Hermes*, 1903, vol. 38, pp. 578f.
- 43 A. Schachter, *Proceedings of the 1st International Conference on Boiotian Antiquities* (Montreal, 1972) suppl. 1, *Teiresias*, 17-30.
- 44 Ducat, op. cit.; *Alkmeonides* #141, pp. 242-51, dated c. 550/540; *Hipparchos* #152, pp. 251-8, dated c. 52.
- 45 Ducat, op. cit., p. 446, n. 1; Lauffer, op. cit., p. 1557. The shrine only regained affluence with the rebuilding of Thebes and the reorganization of the Boeotian League in 316.
- 46 *Keramopoulllos*, AD, 1917, vol. 3, pp. 443-4.
- 47 *Lycophron* 1189-1213 and schol.; Farnell, op. cit., p. 329.
- 48 O. Crusius, *SBAW*, 1905, pp. 760ff.
- 49 *Keramopoulllos*, op. cit., pp. 357f., 437, 443.
- 50 See schol. on 'P'.9.89. This is also attested by the scholiast to 'P'.3.77, *Aristodemos*, who tells an odd story in which an image of the Mother of the Gods appeared to fall at the feet of Pindar, accompanied by thunder and a lightning blast, while he was teaching in the mountains. Ziehen rationalizes the story into a report of a comet, but, as he admits, the image seen by Pausanias was not a rude rock but a finished statue. W.J. Slater, *GRBS*, 1971, vol. 12, pp. 141ff., rejects the story, along with the identification of the 'I' in 'P'.3 with Pindar, an identification which may have inspired the account of *Aristodemos* (see Lefkowitz, *CP*, 1975, vol. 70, p. 176, on the unreliability of *Aristodemos*). Slater's argument is weakened, however, by his suggestion that the shrine in question was in Sicily, an hypothesis for which he says it is 'not reasonable' to expect evidence; yet an unsupportable hypothesis is even less tenable than one supported by vulnerable evidence. Slater also argues the weaker case when he claims that

the 'I' of the poem is a choral 'I' rather than the poet's (see Lefkowitz, HSCP, 1963, vol. 67, pp.177-253). Finally, even if we reject the story of Aristodemos, there is no necessity to reject Pausanias as well, as Slater argues, for it would be amazing if, as he suggests, all the various sources, including local tradition and inscriptions, 'found their way along with Aristodemos into the standard life of Pindar, whether by Didymus or Plutarch' (p. 149), an hypothetical source which we have no way to evaluate. For further criticism of Slater, see A. Henrichs, HSCP, 1976, vol. 80, p. 256, no. 10.

- 51 Schol. on 'P'.9.90.
- 52 See Bruns, AA, 1967, vol. 82, pp. 268-73.
- 53 See Farnell, op. cit., vol. 5, pp. 4 and 26-7.
- 54 Bengt Hemberg, Die Kabiren, pp. 39f.
- 55 Bruns, op. cit., p. 271, fig. 70.
- 56 Bruns, AA, 1964, vol. 79, pp. 260f.; AA, 1967, vol. 82, p. 236; Hemberg, op. cit., pp. 189f.; W. Heyder and A. Mallwitz, Die Bauten im Kabirenheiligtum bei Theben, pp. 44, 60-72.
- 57 Heyder and Mallwitz, ibid., p. 72, suggest this as a possibility, but leave the question of Methapos' date up in the air.
- 58 Bruns, op. cit., pp. 268-73.
- 59 Bernhard Schmaltz, Metallfiguren aus dem Kabirenheiligtum bei Theben, vol. I, p. 10: of 562 statuettes, 534 are steers, 26 are rams or goats, and two are of men.
- 60 Heyder and Mallwitz, op. cit., pp. 69f.
- 61 Kern, RE, 1905, vol.10, col. 1440.
- 62 Hemberg, op. cit., p. 194.
- 63 See Schmaltz, op. cit., vol. I.
- 64 Ibid., pp. 107f, 114; see also Bruns, AA, 1967, vol. 82, p. 241, n. 14.
- 65 Paul Wolters, AM, 1890, vol. 15, pp. 362ff.; Kern, op. cit., p. 1439.
- 66 Schmaltz, op. cit., pp. 17-32.
- 67 Plato, 'Symp.' 215B, 216D, 221DE (except that these figurines opened in the middle and had images of gods in them); Xen. 'Symp.' 4.19, 5.7.
- 68 L. Breitholtz, Die dorische Farce, pp. 198-201 for a review of the history of scholarly debate on this question, which is complicated by emotions aroused over the question of the origins of Attic comedy.
- 69 See Sir Arthur Pickard-Cambridge, Dithyramb, Tragedy and Comedy, #32-48, pl. XI.
- 70 An Attic lekythos: Athens #1129, see C.H.C. Haspels, Attic Black-figure Lekythoi, pp. 170ff., pls 49-50;

- see also Pickard-Cambridge, *op. cit.*, #9, 10, pls 2, 3.
- 71 Ure, JHS, 1929, vol. 49, pp. 160ff., and JHS, 1935, vol. 55, pp. 227f.; Karl Kilinski II, AJA, 1978, vol. 182, pp. 173-91; 72 Athenaeus XIV.621D.
 - 73 Webster, in Pickard-Cambridge, *op. cit.*, p. 138.
 - 74 Schmaltz, *op. cit.*, pp. 123f.
 - 75 On the masks, see Schmaltz, *op. cit.*, p. 134.
 - 76 Heyder and Mallwitz, *op. cit.*, pp. 25ff., 62, pl.2.
 - 77 K rte, review of Bieber, in *Neue Jahrb cher f r das Klass. Altertums*, 1921, vol. 24, pp. 308-12.
 - 78 Paul Wolters and Gerda Bruns, *Das Kabirenheiligtum bei Theban*, vol. I, p. 126.
 - 79 Hemberg, *op. cit.*
 - 80 *Ibid.*, esp. the comparative charts on pp. 328-33 and 270-99.
 - 81 Walter Burkert, *Orphism and Bacchic Mysteries: New Evidence and Old Problems of Interpretation*, pp. 6f.
 - 82 This is Ziehen's opinion, *op. cit.*
 - 83 Friedrich Solmsen, *Hesiod and Aeschylus*, pp. 63, 66-75.

CHAPTER 5 PHILOSOPHY IN THEBES

- 1 This is in essence the view of pre-Platonic Pythagoreanism espoused by Walter Burkert in his *Lore and Science in Ancient Pythagoreanism*. For a brief assessment of Burkert's position and of the various other positions taken by modern scholars in their interpretation of Pythagoreanism, see the review of Burkert by Norman Guiley, CR, 1964, vol. 14, pp. 28f., and the review of C.J. de Vogel, *Pythagoras and Early Pythagoreanism*, by G.B. Kerferd, CR, 1968, vol. 18, pp. 282-4. De Vogel analyzes the non-Aristotelian evidence (Timaeus, Aristoxenus and Dicaearchus) found in Porphyry and Iamblichus, and allows it much greater weight in reconstructing the teaching of Pythagoras and early Pythagoreanism than does Burkert; she thus represents the opposite pole from Burkert in the interpretation of Pythagoreanism.
- 2 See Appendix.
- 3 See A. Delatte, *Essai sur la Politique Pythagoricienne*, pp. 218-37, for a collection of the various versions of the tradition. See also Kurt von Fritz, *Pythagorean Politics in Southern Italy*, pp. 23-32, who analyzes the various elements in the tradition and evaluates Aristoxenus as a source. The tradition is accepted by Walter Burkert, *op. cit.*, pp. 115f. and n. 43;

- J.A. Philip, *Pythagoras and Early Pythagoreanism*, pp. 25f.; and E.L. Minar, *Early Pythagorean Politics*. Erich Frank, *Plato und die sogenannten Pythagoreer*, p. 294, n. 1, rejects it, but see Burkert, *op. cit.*, n. 43.
- 4 S. Levin, *Teiresias*, 1972, suppl. vol. 1, pp. 51-60.
 - 5 Pindar, 'O', 6.90 and Fragment 72 (Bowra).
 - 6 R.S. Bluck, *Plato's Phaedo*, pp. 6f., 43, n.2, ii, ns 1 and 2; W.K.C. Guthrie, *A History of Greek Philosophy*, 4th edition, p. 309; *Plato's Phaedo*, pp. xix, lv, 59, 72, 85; Burkert, *op. cit.*, p. 78; A.E. Taylor, *Plato*, p. 175; on the other hand, R. Hackforth, *Plato's Phaedo*, pp. 13f., 63, 102, avoids the identification, and G.C. Field, *Plato and his Contemporaries*, p. 59, is openly skeptical, as is G.M.A. Grube, *Plato's Thought*, p. 294. The main obstacles in the way of the identification (the skepticism and the 'unPythagorean' theories of the two) are circumvented by Burnet and Taylor through the hypothesis that fifth-century Pythagoreans were pure scientists who had abandoned the religious doctrine of their founder, but there is no other evidence for this.
 - 7 Guthrie, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 310.
 - 8 Burkert, *Lore*, pp. 337-480.
 - 9 *Ibid.*, p. 272.
 - 10 Hackforth, *op. cit.*, p. 104.
 - 11 Grube, *op. cit.*, pp. 291-4, argues that they are not familiar with the theory of Forms, basing his argument mainly on the gradual explanation of the theory during the course of the dialogue; it is reasonable, however, to assume that Plato offers the gradual explanation to help the reader, and Grube himself admits that each step is used as part of the proof of immortality as it is introduced. Cebes himself introduces the related theory of Recollection into the argument, so that we know that the two are meant to be seen as familiar with Socratic teaching, and this should enable us to take Simmias' words of emphatic agreement at 65D and the other uses of the first person plural in regard to the theory of Forms in a literal sense.
 - 12 The authenticity of this epistle is disputed, see Burkert, *op. cit.*, 19, n. 20; G.R. Morrow, *Plato's Epistles*, pp. 100-9, argues that it is genuine.
 - 13 Xen. 'Mem.' 1.2.48; 3.11.17.
 - 14 By calling the philosophy of the 'Phaedo' and its theory of Forms 'Socratic', I am not subscribing to the Taylor-Burnet thesis that the dialogue should be taken as an exact and accurate presentation of the

philosophical position actually held by the historical Socrates. What I do mean is that I believe that Socrates held a theory of Forms, to which Plato has added elements of his own development (in particular, the idea that the Forms were separate or transcendent), and that the philosophy of the dialogue was generally regarded by Plato as being Socratic - either actually maintained by Socrates or a natural extension of positions which he held. A distinction should be made between the likelihood that Plato would have attributed such developments of his master's theories to his master, and the likelihood that he would have attributed a wholly new characteristic to him which in real life he did not possess, such as an interest in Pythagoreanism. The former seems very likely, while the latter seems very unlikely. On the Taylor-Burnet thesis, see A.E. Taylor, *Varia Socratica*, and Burnet, *Early Greek Philosophy and Plato's Phaedo*, op. cit. For discussion, see Guthrie, op. cit., vol. 3, pp. 351ff.

- 15 Taylor, op. cit., p. 30.
- 16 Hackforth, op. cit., p. 4.
- 17 See Taylor, op. cit., pp. 129-77; for the skeptical viewpoint, see K.J. Dover, *Aristophanes' Clouds*, pp. xxxii-lvii, and Guthrie, op. cit., vol. 3, pp. 359-75.
- 18 Burnet, *Plato's Phaedo*, comm. on 64B3.
- 19 For a discussion of Plato's characterization of Cebes, see R.D. Archer-Hind, *The Phaedo of Plato*, pp. 41f. On the spurious writings attributed to Simmias and Cebes (DL 2.234-5), see Burkert, *Lore*, p. 229, n. 56.
- 20 Although many scholars have seen the closeness of Plutarch's work to the 'Phaedo', the subject is best treated by R. Hirzel, *Der Dialog*, vol. 2, pp. 148-51, from which the points of comparison noted in the text were drawn.
- 21 Plutarch covers the same historical material, in less detail and without mention of Simmias, in the 'Life of Pelopidas' 6-13; other ancient accounts, none of which mentions Simmias, are to be found in Nepos, 'Pelop.' 2.1-4.1; Xen. 'Hell.' 5.4.1-13; Diod. 15.25-7.
- 22 A. Corlu, *Plutarque. Le Démon de Socrate*, p. 40.
- 23 575E; the Greek is corrupt, but this is the general sense.
- 24 K. Ziegler sees a two-fold patriotic aim: to provide a memorial for a brilliant moment in Theban history and a refutation of the bias against Thebes as anti-

- intellectual (Plutarchos von Chaironeia, p. 204); thus too Hirzel, *op. cit.*, pp. 162f., who, however, sees an emphasis on the Athenian roots of Theban philosophy and an intention to make the work a monument to Attic-Boeotian friendship. Corlu thinks that the 'misologia' theme is overstated, and that the major theme is the daimon of Socrates and the general topic of demonology, *op. cit.*, pp. 88f.
- 25 Compare 'Pelop.' 22.3.
- 26 See Field, *op. cit.*, 12f.; G.R. Morrow, *Plato's Cretan City*, pp. 5f.
- 27 Xenophon 'Anab.' 2.6.16-20 tells of a Boeotian, Proxenus, who had studied with Gorgias; since Proxenus died at 30 on the expedition, he could not have heard Gorgias in 427. Perhaps he travelled to Sicily, but it seems as likely that Gorgias made a lecture-tour including Boeotia, late in the fifth century.
- 28 On the reliability of Aristoxenus, see above, note 3.
- 29 Delatte, *op. cit.*, p. 228.
- 30 P. Corssen, 'Die Sprengung des pythagoreischen Bundes', *Philologus*, 1912, vol. 71, p. 346, suggests that Plutarch has substituted an invented name, Theanor, for Philolaos, possibly on chronological grounds. In general, Plato is preferred. The rejection of the 'De genio' as a serious account is unanimous, although not always based on adequate grounds. For example, Delatte did not see that part of his explanation of Plutarch's 'error' did not explain the actual situation. Burkert dismisses the 'De genio' as a 'novelistic treatment' with no value (Iore, p. 228, n. 48); similarly, von Fritz, *op. cit.*, p. 79, discounts the 'De genio' as a 'fictional embellishment of the original history'; yet the use of a novelistic format does not imply that all the elements are fictional. On the other hand, scholars have been almost unanimous in accepting 'Phaedo' 61DE as evidence for Philolaos' presence in Thebes; the exceptions are G.F. Unger, *Sitzungsberichte der königlichen bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München, phil.-hist. Classe.*, 1883, p. 190, who, however, ignores Plato's statement at 61E7; and Frank, *op. cit.*, p. 294, n. 1.
- 31 Aristox., frag. 28 (FGH).
- 32 Ap. Arist. 'Rhet.' 1398b9ff.
- 33 Hackforth, *op. cit.*, p. 7.
- 34 The testimony of Olympiodorus, 'In Plato.Phaedon.Comm.', W. Norvin (ed.), p. 9, is an obvious late attempt to support Plato and reconcile various traditions and has no independent value; see Delatte, *op. cit.*, p. 235.

35 Burkert, *Lore*, p. 112, 133-6.

CHAPTER 6 THE MUSES

- 1 'Pelop.' 19.
- 2 'Rep.' 400A-C, 424C.
- 3 Hdt. 1.155; Herodotus portrays Croesus as suggesting that Cyrus made the Lydians train their sons in harp and lyre playing (in addition to forbidding them weapons, changing their mode of dress, and encouraging shop-keeping) in order to render them less aggressive and prone to revolt. It is interesting that the instrument here prescribed is the 'manly' lyre, but the basic notion appears to reflect the theory of Damon, current in the second half of the fifth century.
- 4 For references to Boeotian reeds see Pindar, frags 59 (with 'O.'14 and 'P.'12.26f.) and 233, and Corinna fragment 684 (Page). For a discussion of the preparation of reeds and their use in the manufacture of flutes, see Theophrastus, 'Hist. Pl.' 4.11.4-9.
- 5 Paus. 9.5.7-9; 9.8.4; 9.17.7.
- 6 Paus. 9.29.3.
- 7 'P.'12.25-7; see also Aristotle, 'Pol.' 1341b4. According to another tradition, its origins were in Phrygia (Ps.-Plut. 'De mus.' 1132F-1133E).
- 8 Frag. 125.
- 9 Frag. 44.36; 'O.'3.8; 7.12; 10.93; 'N.'3.79; 9.8.
- 10 'De mus.' 1133A.
- 11 Eustath. prooemium 25ff., in A.B. Drachmann, *Scholia vetera in Pindari carmina*, vol. 3, pp. 296ff.; Suid. s.v. 'Pindaros', vol. 4, p. 384.
- 12 Athen. 184D.
- 13 Athen. 631E; Paus. 9.12.5-6; 4.27.7; see A.A. Howard, *HSCP*, 1893, vol. 4, pp. 1-60, esp. 6ff., who suggested that he may have increased the number of holes and devised some sort of covering, perhaps bands of silver, for the holes not in use; see also Kathleen Schlesinger, *The Greek Aulos*, pp. 72-4.
- 14 See Arist. 'Pol.' 1341a27-35.
- 15 Plut. 'Alc.' 2.
- 16 Melanippides, Frag. 758 (Page, PMG).
- 17 Athen. 616Eff.; Apollod. 1.4.2; Paus. 1.24.1; Strabo 13.616; Hyginus #165.
- 18 Ps.-Plut. 'De mus.' 1136B.
- 19 A. Michaelis, *Annali dell'Istituto di Corrispondenza*

- Archeologica, 1859, pp. 298ff.; Die Verurteilung des Marsyas auf einer Vase aus Ruvo, building on the earlier work of Böttiger, Kleine Schriften, vol. 1, pp. 3-60, who had suggested that an Athenian satyr play was the source of the revision of the myth, but did not identify it as a play of Euripides.
- 20 Still another possible motivation for the low reputé in which the flute stood is suggested by G. Devereux, Symbolae Osloenses, 1967, vol. 62, p. 84, n. 2: 'the fact that in modern obscene speech (e.g. French) flute-playing = fellatio, may explain why flute-playing was despised by some'.
- 21 Athen. 184E.
- 22 See Lippold, RE, 1963, vol. 47, col. 306, 'Pythagoras' 14.
- 23 Paus. 9.22.2-3. The date of Corinna is one of the more contested puzzles of contemporary scholarship. The possibilities range from the fifth century BC to 200 BC, with most authorities leaning toward a date at one or the other extreme, but with clear admission that their arguments can only establish a probability. For the most recent review of the question and bibliography, see C.P. Segal, Eranos, 1975, vol. 73, pp. 1-8; and K. Latte, Eranos, 1956, vol. 54, pp. 57ff., who answers Page's arguments in favor of the later date which appears in the latter's Corinna.
- 24 Karl Schefold, Antike Kunst, 1958, vol. 1, pp. 72ff. The findspot is unknown, and the work is in the tradition of the Thespian school, but similar works are known to have been created in one city for use in another (the stelai of Saugenes, Koironos, and Pherenikos), and Thespieae appears to have been the major Boeotian center for the production of bas-relief. See Chapter 7.
- 25 'P.'5.72-6. Whether these lines refer to Pindar is another of the great debates of modern scholarship; it seems to me, however, that Lefkowitz has resolved it affirmatively in her study of first person statements in Pindar, HSCP, 1963, vol. 67, esp. pp. 229-32; n. 117 on p. 252 gives a full bibliography on the question.
- 26 Thuc. 6.16.
- 27 'O.'2.53ff.; 'P.'1.90ff.; 'I.'1.67ff., 6.10f.
- 28 'N.'7.12ff.
- 29 'N.'1.20, 31ff.
- 30 'O.'3.39.
- 31 'I.'1.47ff., 7.27ff.
- 32 'P.'5.1ff., 8.13ff.; 'N.'8.17.

- 33 Aristophanes 'Ach.' 860ff., 'Peace' 1004f.
 34 'I.'1.59-63.
 35 'I.'3.15ff., 4.14f.
 36 'P.'11.47.
 37 All references to the fragments of Pindar are to the 2nd edition of C.M. Bowra, *Pindari carmina cum fragmentis*.
 38 Arist. 'Pol.' 1274a32-1374b4.
 39 Alcman, Frag. 1.50-52 (Page), but see note on line 2 in D.A. Campbell, *Greek Lyric Poetry*.
 40 Such family ties crossing political boundaries may have been involved in some of Pindar's commissions. From Laios there had descended a family which at some point received the name of Aigeidai. Some of the Aigeidai assisted the Herakleidai in the subjection of the Peloponnese and then lived on in Sparta. One of these, Theras, led the colonization of Thera. From Thera a branch of the family went to Cyrene, another to Akragas (via Athens and Rhodes, or via Gela):

Thebes

Sparta

Thera

Akragas

Cyrene

(See Schol. 'O.'2.82d, *Drach.*, vol. 1, p. 182; Schol. 'O.'2.15c, *Drach.*, vol. 1, p.64; Cauer, *RE*, 1894, vol. 1, cols 949f; Swoboda, *RE*, 1905, vol. 10, cols 2498-500). In 'P.'5.72-6 Pindar speaks of himself as an Aigeid, a kinsman of the Cyrenians (see above, note 25). Theron was also a member of the clan ('O.'2.43-47), and Hieron was allied to him by marriage. As early as 490 Pindar was engaged to commemorate the Pythian victory of Hieron's brother Xenocrates ('P.'6, at the same date he also composed 'P'.12 for the flute player Midas of Akragas). Family connections could have had some bearing on these (and subsequent) Akragantine commissions and on the choice of poet by Arkesilas; at least Pindar felt the connection worthy of mention as an element which enhanced his appropriateness as poet for the occasion (and perhaps took some of the edge off the fact that he was paid as well). That the ties were mythical did not detract from their value but rather added to it, by investing them with the weight of

great antiquity and the sanction of holy names. In Herodotus 5.80 we can see the practical consequences of such mythical ties in the story of Thebes' choice of Aigina as ally, where the mythological fact that Thebe and Aigina were twin sisters was the determining factor (the oracle said to choose those nearest, and, reasoned the Thebans, who is nearer than a sister-in-myth?).

- 41 Frank J. Frost, *American Journal of Ancient History*, 1976, vol. 1, pp. 67-73. Earlier recognition of the significance of the way in which the Greeks conceived of the state is found in Gernet's review of Riezler, *Finanzen und Monopole* in *L'Année Sociologique*, 1909-6, vol. 11, p. 562.
- 42 K.J. Dover, *Greek Homosexuality* (see review in *AJP*, 1980, vol. 101, pp. 121ff; references below in note 52; and Claude Calame, *Les Choeurs de jeunes filles in Grèce archaïque*, vol. 1, pp. 420-7, 454).
- 43 Plut. 'Erot.' 761CD; compare with Plato, 'Laws' 636A-D.
- 44 Plut. 'Erot.' 761B.
- 45 Plut. 'Pelop.' 18.
- 46 Xen. 'Lac. Rep.' 2.12.
- 47 Arist. 'Pol.' 1274a32-1274b4.
- 48 Plut. 'Pelop.' 19.
- 49 Xen. 'Lac. Rep.' 2.13.
- 50 Frag. 8, Dindorf.
- 51 Aelian 'De anim.' 6.15, p. 324 Gronovius; Plutarch attributes the story to poets in 'Pelop.' 19.
- 52 On stock comic charges, see K.J. Dover, *Greek Popular Morality in the Time of Plato and Aristotle*, pp. 30ff. Dover explained the charge of effeminacy as one leveled against boys who yield and 'who thereby detract from their future role as citizen-warriors' (p. 215, compare Dover, *Bull. Inst. Class. Stud.* London, 1964, vol. 11, p. 38: 'Those who hunt as recreation and not for a living have a poor opinion of a quarry which waits to be caught' in explaining the attitude of the lover to the beloved). This imports modern attitudes, and disregards the clear evidence for pederasty as an upper class 'rite of passage' which conferred status upon the boy, as well as the evidence from Aeschines, which is cited in the article itself. Despite insistence that he was dealing with the literary man ('homo Platonicus' and 'homo Aristophaneus'), and not the real Athenian aristocrat or farmer, Dover tended to overlook the literary conventions: Pausanias in the 'Symposium' is not 'homo Platonicus' but simply one of the

characters in the dialogue (who represents a fairly conventional aristocratic view, according to all the evidence); Aristophanes' world is presented through the rather murky glass of comic distortion and requires interpretation.

Another approach to the explanation of the charge of effeminacy was taken by Devereux, who saw the effeminate as one who failed to complete the evolution to heterosexuality which consisted of being 'eromenos', 'erastes', and husband in turn; this explanation fails to take into account such cases as Socrates, who was both husband and lover but not charged with effeminacy, or Aeschines, who was still a lover at age 45 ('Against Timarchos' 49 and 136), and who names other older men as lovers (*ibid.*, 155-6. Devereux's article appeared in *Symbolae Osloenses*, 1967, vol. 42, pp. 70-92.

- 53 Plut. 'Pelop.' 18.
- 54 Corinna, Frag. 664a (Page).
- 55 Corinna, Frags 664a, 695a (Page).
- 56 Wassiliki Schild-Xenidou, *Boiotische Grab- und Weihreliefs Archaischer und Klassischer Zeit*, #82 and p. 142; this stone from Thespieae is dated to the last quarter of the fourth century, but the conservatism of Boeotian society gives it possible relevance.
- 57 Calame, *op. cit.*, pp. 26f., 90, and part 4 of vol. I. On the controversy over the educational aspects of Sappho's circle in particular, dated before Calame's extensive treatment of this subject, see Denys Page, *Sappho and Alcaeus*, pp. 110-12, who is a committed skeptic, vs. R. Merkelbach, *Philologus*, 1957, vol. 101, pp. 1-29; F. Lasserre, *Serta Turyniana*, p. 29, n. 41.
- 58 See also 'Laws' 655A, 672E.
- 59 Compare Arist., 'Eccl.' 111-20, 243-4.
- 60 David Young, *Three Odes of Pindar*, p. 19 and n. 2, questions the significance of the women in this ode, saying, 'Apart from the invocation (where Apollo is present too), 'Py.' 11 "concerns women" only in the myth'. This is a poor argument, given the fact that more than half the ode (37 out of 64 lines) is included in the invocation and myth, so that the use of the word 'only' is scarcely justified.
- 61 Schol. 'P.' 3.139a, Drach., vol. 2, p. 81, and Schol. Theokr., ii, 10a, Wendel, p. 271.
- 62 L.R. Farnell, *A Critical Commentary to the Works of Pindar*, vol. 2, p. 425.
- 63 H.J. Rose, 'The ancient grief', in *Greek Poetry and Life. Essays presented to Gilbert Murray*, pp. 79-96.
- 64 Apollod. 3.4.2.

- 65 Apollod. 2.4.12; compare 2.5.11. On these eight- or nine-year punishments, see J.G. Frazer's note in the Loeb edition of Apollodorus, vol. 1, p. 218, n. 1.
- 66 Rose, *op. cit.*, pp. 93ff. See I.M. Linforth, *The Arts of Orpheus*, pp. 307-64, on the problems of using the story of the dismemberment of Dionysos as an identifying mark of Orphism, and on the whole question of the nature of Orphism; and N. Demand, *GRBS*, 1975, vol. 16, pp. 347-57, on the identification of 'O.'2 and Empedocles as Pythagorean. Despite a variety of misgivings, Linforth acknowledges 'a high degree of probability' in Rose's interpretation.
- 67 Clem. Al. 'Strom.' iii.518.
- 68 Schol. on 'P.'7.18, *Drach.*, vol. 2, p. 204; see J. Sandys (ed.), *The Odes of Pindar*, p. 255.
- 69 See Otto Schroeder's edition of Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Graec.* vol. 1, p. 444, *app. crit.*, on the various readings of this fragment.
- 70 See Erich Thummer, *Die Religiosität Pindars*, and reviews by J.A. Davison, *JHS*, 1960, vol. 80, pp. 203f., and Rose, *CR*, 1959, vol. 9, pp. 231f., for differing views on this question. Thummer in suggesting that Pindar made conscious use of traditional religion to support a failing aristocracy went further than I should want to go in attributing a religious position to him on the basis of the odes; I prefer Davison's position, 'that he was essentially a "jobbing" poet, and that he was bound to adapt himself to the wishes of his employers'.
- 71 The theory that Alcman, *Frag. 1*, contains an internal contest, between Hegesichora and Agido or between their two choruses or semi-choruses, receives a sufficient refutation in M. Puelma's article in *MH*, 1977, vol. 34, pp. 1-55; the agonistic spirit is not thereby excluded, however, for the motifs of competition clearly present in the poem (lines 63, 65, 77, and 50-9) suggest an external contest, between those who join together to present this song and at least one other chorus (the Pleiades?) presenting another song (see especially p. 28 of Puelma's article). Alcman, *Frag. 3*, also contains a suggestion of competition in the world 'agon'. For discussion and extensive bibliography on both these theories (internal and external contests) see Calame, pp. 130f., and notes 165 and 166. Calame rejects both theories.
- 72 'O.'2.86-8 and Scholia; 'N.'3.80-2; see Wilamowitz, *op. cit.*, pp. 310-18 on 'I.'2; S. Gzella, *Eos*, 1969, vol. 58, pp. 175-9.

- 73 Page thought that the language used precludes the more general idea of imitation or a simple claim of superiority and requires some sort of formal or informal challenge (op.cit., p. 31, n. 1). A deliberate switch into a recognizably male genre could constitute such a challenge.
- 74 'Vit. Aes.' 3-5 says that Aeschylus went off to Sicily in a sulk after he was defeated by Simonides or Sophocles.

CHAPTER 7 THE ARTS AND CRAFTS

- 1 R. Lullies, JDAI, 1936, vol. 51, pp. 137ff., draws attention to these positive aspects of provincial Boeotian work, and he is followed by Wassiliki Schild-Xenidou in her study of Boeotian figured funeral stelai, to which the present work is much indebted, Boiotische Grab-und Weihreliefs Archaischer und Klassischer Zeit, see especially chapter 4. In referring to individual stelai I shall use Schild-Xenidou's numbering, in addition to giving information about location and reference to a publication containing an illustration, where possible.
- 2 Boeotian art, at least in the two forms which we shall be discussing, developed in a recognizably different way in the various Boeotian centers in the fifth century, although it does possess more general Boeotian characteristics as well. Thus Thespian, Tanagran, and Theban workshops for the production of bas-relief stelai have been identified, as well as specifically Theban potters' workshops. The products of another craft, the mold-made terracotta figures found at the Kabeirion, are primarily of interest in connection with the cult and are discussed in Chapter 4. See P. Wolters, AM, 1890, vol. 15, pp. 355ff.; Bernhard Schmaltz, Terrakotten aus dem Kabirenheiligtum bei Theben.
- 3 Cicero, 'De legibus', II, 26, 64.
- 4 P.M. Fraser and T. Ronne, Boeotian and West Greek Tombstones, p. 36.
- 5 See Schild-Xenidou, op. cit., p. 84.
- 6 Schild-Xenidou, K5, Thebes Museum 13; G.M.A. Richter, Archaic Gravestones of Attica, p. 47, #67, figs 155-8; Sheila Adam, The Technique of Greek Sculpture in the Archaic and Classical Periods, pp. 108-10 and pls 54-5.
- 7 Ibid., p. 6.
- 8 A suggestion made by B.S. Ridgway.

- 9 See B.S. Ridgway, *The Severe Style in Greek Sculpture*, pp. 44-5. Hilde Hiller, *Ionische Grabreliefs der ersten Hälfte des 5. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.*, p. 15, n. 3, discusses this question of Athenian emigration at length.
- 10 *Ibid.*, pp. 72-96.
- 11 K8 Boston Museum 99.339; C.C. Vermeule, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Art. The Classical Collection of the Museum of Fine Arts*, p. 85, fig. 76; Hiller, *op. cit.*, pp. 130, 136, 166-7; Mary B. Comstock and Cornelius Vermeule, *Sculpture in Stone*, pp. 12f., fig. 18; see Plate 3.
- 12 L.D. Caskey, *Catalogue of Greek and Roman Sculpture, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, p. 22; Maxime Collignon, *Les Statues funéraires dans l'art grec*, p. 64, fig. 34.
- 13 Caskey, *op. cit.*, p. 22.
- 14 Hiller, *op. cit.*, pp. 166-7.
- 15 F. Willemssen, *AM*, 1970, vol. 85, pp. 30-4.
- 16 Riders appear throughout the fifth and fourth centuries, mostly from Thespieae, sometimes armed (warriors) and sometimes without arms (hunters); on some stelai men appear leading their horses. Schild-Xenidou interprets these as scenes from daily life, *op. cit.*, p. 132.
- 17 On the peripatetic lives of Greek sculptors, see Alison Burford, *The Greek Temple Builders at Epidauros*, pp. 98-206; *Craftsmen in Greek and Roman Society*, pp. 57-67.
- 18 K7, Athens National Museum #39; F. Gerke, *Griechische Plastik in archaischer und klassischer Zeit*, p. 35, pl. 76.
- 19 See Schild-Xenidou, *op. cit.*, p. 162.
- 20 Schild-Xenidou lists six stelai dated in the first half of the century, in contrast to thirty-nine from the second half of the century, twenty-one of which are dated to the last quarter of the century, *op. cit.*, pp. 76f.
- 21 K10, Athens National Museum 739; for a suggested Ionian (Parian) model, see C. Blümel, *Die klassische-griechischen Skulpturen der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin*, #2, *Stele Giustiniani*, pls 2, 4, 6, 9.
- 22 Hiller, *op. cit.*, pp. 130, 136.
- 23 A less successful rendering of the same motif is to be found in another Theban stele, K15, Thebes Museum 12; Ch. Karouzos, *To Mouseio tes Thebas*, p. 17, #12, pl. 11.
- 24 K18, Brussels A 1315; Schild-Xenidou, *op. cit.*, pp. 166f.

- 25 Hiller, *op. cit.*, p. 140.
- 26 *Ibid.*, p. 143.
- 27 Work by more than one craftsman on a particular piece was frequent; see Burford, *Craftsmen*, p. 95.
- 28 K32, Berlin Museum 1504; Collignon, *op. cit.*, p. 132, fig. 71.
- 29 A badly damaged fragment of a stele in the Thebes Museum (K33), unpublished, appears to be another example of this same type.
- 30 Ridgway, *The Archaic Style in Greek Sculpture*, pp. 165f.
- 31 W. Vollgraff, *BCH*, 1902, vol. 26, pp. 554-70; A. Keramopoullos, *AE*, 1920, pp. 1-27; Karouzos, *op. cit.*; J. Threpsiadis, *AE*, 1963, Beilage, pp. 13-15; Schild-Xenidou, *op. cit.*, K43-8, pp. 176-8; A.G. Kalogeropoulos, *AAA*, 1968, vol. 1, pp. 92-6. For a discussion of Chian parallels, see N.M. Kontoleon, *BCH*, 1949, vol. 73, pp. 392-7; Ridgway, *Archaic Style*, pp. 164, 170-1; E. Pflühl and H. Möbius, *Die ostgriechischen Grabreliefs*, vol. 2, Appendix, 566-8, pls 330f., XX-XXIII. The Chian examples are later (early fourth century and on), so that Chian priority seems unlikely.
- 32 Schild-Xenidou, *op. cit.*, p. 177, n. 4.
- 33 On the difficulties involved in making accurate copies of these works, see Kalogeropoulos, *op. cit.* The technique that has been found most accurate is that of rubbing with soft graphite, the method used on tombstones in New England.
- 34 K42, Thebes Museum 57; Keramopoullos, *op. cit.*, p. 10, fig. 3; the stele portrays the women and child. It is the only one of these fragmentary etched stelai included by Schild-Xenidou; for sketches and discussion of the other, see Keramopoullos, *op. cit.*
- 35 Karouzos, *op. cit.*, p. 30; Keramopoullos, *op. cit.*, p. 10, dated after 460 BC.
- 36 K43 Mnason (Thebes), Thebes Museum 54; E. Pflühl, *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen*, vol. 2, p. 665, #722, pl. 633.
- K44 Rhynchon (Thebes), Thebes Museum 55; Pflühl 665, #722, p. 634.
- K45 Saogenes (Tanagra), Thebes Museum 56.
- K46 Koiranos (Tanagra), Thebes Museum 58.
- K47 Byillos (Thebes), Thebes Museum 43.
- K48 Pherenikos (Asopia), Thebes Museum 240.
- 37 Keramopoullos, *op. cit.*, pp. 25f.
- 38 Keramopoullos, *op. cit.*, has suggested that this portrays a scene outside the temple of Apollo Ismenios,

with the female figure, perhaps the mother of the boy, representing Manto sitting on her stone. This ties in with his identification of Rhynchon as a Daphnophoros (see Chapter 4); this theory is based on the very elaborate decorations of the clothing and armor and especially on the wreath which the figure wears on his helmet (the Daphnophoros wore a laurel wreath). Considering the fact that there is a similar wreath on the helmet of Saugenes, this seems to be an unlikely interpretation: Keramopoullos does answer this objection by the claim that the wreath worn by a Tanagran, Saugenes, would not have the same significance that it had for the Theban Rhynchon, but given the close similarity of all the representations, it seems more likely that similar details bear similar meanings on them all, and that the wreath is that of a victor, or funerary.

- 39 K13, Basle, Kunstmuseum G1957.14; Schefold, *Antike Kunst*, 1958, vol. 1, pp. 69-74, pl. 31.
- 40 K82, Athens National Museum 817; G. Rodenwaldt, *JDAI*, 1913, vol. 38, p. 333, pl. 30.
- 41 Burford, *Craftsmen*, pp. 176-9, pl. 6.
- 42 Suggested by N.M. Kontoleon in *Charistirion A.K. Orlandos*, vol. 1, p. 396, and confirmed in *Kalogeropoulos*, *op. cit.*, p. 96.
- 43 See E. Pfühl and H. Möbius, *Die ostgriechischen Grabreliefs*, vol. 1, pp. 10f., pl. 3, #7. C. Karouzos, *AM*, 1962, vol. 77, pp. 121-9, discusses the general topic of erotic scenes on tombstones, and cites a possible parallel to the Saugenes' stele (he does not consider this stele, since the identification of the figure as a woman was made only in 1968). This is a fragment of a relief from Kos, dated to about 510, identified as funerary, which portrays an erotic scene: a lyre-holding man and an almost naked woman share a couch, from which a naked ithyphallic man has evidently just fallen. A male flute player entertains the party, while a small boy tries to help the fallen man. See also Ridgway, *Archaic*, pp. 175, 273, 279 note. Ridgway comments on the unusual use of the scene on the Kos relief for a grave monument, and makes several suggestions: that it might have been a votive offering by a professional prostitute, or dedicated in return for a miraculous cure (by the fallen man probably); or that it is the funeral stele of the fallen man and depicts the moment of his death. Unfortunately, none of these suggestions helps in explaining the representation on the stele of Saugenes.

- 44 As on Etruscan sarcophagi; the common origin for both would be east Greece, where symposium scenes in which a woman sits on the edge of the couch occur early in the fifth century; see Pflügl and Mübbs, op. cit., vol. 1, pp. 9f, 30-2, pl. 2, #4 and #6, and pl. 19, #73, 74, 76. Stelai with similar scenes (woman sitting on edge of couch) are frequent in Boeotia in the fourth century: Schild-Xenidou lists five examples. Reclining couples have not been found in east Greece dating earlier than the third century; see Pflügl and Mübbs, vol. 2, pp. 443ff., #1844-58.
- 45 Theodor Kock, *Comicorum atticorum fragmenta*, vol. 1, p. 517, #488.
- 46 Plato, 'Rep.' 363C.
- 47 August Meineke, *Fragmenta comicorum graecorum*, vol. 3, p. 362, 4-5.
- 48 See Rhea N. Thönges-Stringaris, *AM*, 1965, vol. 80, pp. 16-18, 25, 61-6.
- 49 This judgment has been confirmed by the recent redrawing of the Saugenes stele, see Kalogeropoulos, op. cit.
- 50 Keramopoullos, op. cit.
- 51 Pliny, 'HN' 75, 110, 122.
- 52 Eugénie Sellers, *The Elder Pliny's Chapters on the History of Art*, note on 'HN' 35.75.13.
- 53 Pliny, 'HN' 34.72; for a discussion of artists who worked in more than one medium, see Burford, *Craftsmen*, pp. 86, 96. Polygnotus was a painter who also worked in bronze ('HN' 34.85), as was Euphranor, who was a pupil of Aristeides ('HN' 34.50; Paus. 1.3.4).
- 54 J.E. Raven, *CQ*, 1951, n.s. vol. 1, pp. 147-52.
- 55 Keramopoullos, op. cit., pp. 18ff.
- 56 See Burford, *Craftsmen*, pp. 109f. on the subject of poor craftsmanship.
- 57 See P.N. Ure, *BSA*, 1907-8, vol. 14, pp. 226-318; P.N. Ure and R.M. Burrows, *JHS*, 1909, vol. 29, pp. 308-53; P.N. Ure, *Sixth and Fifth Century Pottery from Rhitsona; Aryballoi and Figurines from Rhitsona in Boeotia*.
- 58 See Paul Wolters and Gerda Bruns, *Das Kabirenheiligtum bei Theben*, vol. 1.
- 59 A.D. Ure, *BSA*, 1940-5, vol. 41, pp. 24f.
- 60 Ibid.
- 61 A.D. Ure, *AJA*, 1953, vol. 57, p. 249.
- 62 A.D. Ure, *BSA*, 1940-5, vol. 41, p. 23; R. Lullies, *AM*, 1940, vol. 65, p. 13.
- 63 M. Collignon and Louis Couve, *Catalogue des vases peints du Musée National d'Athènes*, #1406.

- 64 A.D. Ure, BSA, 1940-5, vol. 41, p. 25, and AJA, 1958, vol. 62, pp. 390f.
- 65 A.D. Ure, JHS, 1951, vol. 71, pp. 194-7.
- 66 R.M. Cook, Greek Painted Pottery, pp. 103, 188; the identification and analysis of Theban pottery should be greatly assisted by the publication of the finds from the necropolis at Pyri, see AD, 1969, vol. 24, Chr. 1, pp. 175-7.
- 67 For the black-figure vases, see L.B. Ghali-Kahil, BCH, 1950, vol. 74, pp. 52-61; for red-figure, Lullies, AM, 1940, vol. 65, pp. 1-27.
- 68 B.A. Sparkes, JHS, 1967, vol. 87, p. 124 and pl. xix; P. Pelagatti, ArchClass, 1962, vol. 14, pp. 36ff.
- 69 Sparkes, op. cit., p. 124, and connections between the Judgment of Paris, Branteghem and woman's head vases; see A.D. Ure, BSA, 1940-5, vol. 41.
- 70 See A. Rumpf, JHS, 1947, vol. 67, pp. 10-21, for the application of shading and perspective techniques to Attic vases.
- 71 See Lullies, AM, 1940, vol. 65, passim.
- 72 O. von Vacano, Zur Entstehung und Deutung gemalter seitansichtiger Kopfbilder auf schwarzfigurigen Vasen des griechischen Festlands, pp. 44f.
- 73 J.-J. Maffre, BCH, 1975, vol. 99, pp. 516-18, fig. 56.
- 74 A.D. Ure, AJA, 1953, vol. 57, pp. 245-9; JHS, 1957, vol. 77, pp. 314f.; with additions by Pelagatti, op. cit., pp. 29-41.
- 75 A.D. Ure, AJA, 1953, vol. 57, p. 249.
- 76 Miss Gloria Pinney suggests that the figure represents Selene; other possibilities, all associated with the moon, are Io, Hera, Pasiphae, Artemis, and Hecate. Possibly a suggestion of sorcery is present.
- 77 Mostra del'Etruria padana e della città di Spina, vol. 1, Catalogo, #1063, 1064, 1057, 1073. Salvatore Aurigemma, Scavi di Spina, vol. 1, tombs 512 and 271 each have two plates with heads, one pair male and female (but in a three-quarter view), the other pair both males; pls 143, 190a, b; vol. 2, tomb #1166 in which was found an oinochoe with a woman's head, thought to be from 'Greece', with hair held as in a kerchief-sling, and exposed in a sort of knot in the back as well as in the front; this tomb also contained two plates with heads, male and female, and a nuptial lebetes from the workshop of Meidias dated to the first decade of the fourth century. This appears to be the tomb of a young bride, with the gifts centering around the nuptial theme; pp. 109-10 and pls 140-1.
- 78 Pelagatti, op. cit., pp. 31-33.
- 79 D.M. Robinson, C.G. Harcum, J.H. Iliffe, Greek Vases

- at Toronto, pls LXXI, LXXII, LXXI-LXXV.
- 80 See R. Hackl, *JDAI*, 1907, vol. 22, pp. 83ff., for a discussion of early instances of the use of human heads as independent decorations. More recently K. Schauenberg, *Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz*, 1957, vol. 4, pp. 63-72, has offered a brief and incomplete survey of later finds in various areas, and suggested that a full-scale study of the type should be carried out. He cites the use of a man's head decoration on sixth-century Boeotian vases. Some areas in which the motif was popular in the fourth century were Italy (the Apulian vases, see above, note 79), Olynthus (see D.M. Robinson, *Excavations at Olynthus*, vol. 5, pp. 148-56, pls 117-24; vol. 13, pp. 17, 44, 95, 97; pls 58, 60), and southern Russia (see K. Shefold, 'Untersuchungen zu den kertscher Vasen', *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus russischen Sammlungen*, vol. 4, p. 148, pls 1, 25).
 - 81 Von Vacano, *op. cit.*,
 - 82 Wolters and Bruns, *op. cit.*, pp. 95-128, pls 5-17, 26-33, 37, 44-5, 50-8.
 - 83 Bruns, in Wolters and Bruns, *op. cit.*, p. 126, citing as a possible forerunner of the style an Attic lekythos: Athens #1129, see C.H.C. Haspels, *Attic Black-Figure Lekythoi*, pp. 180ff., pls 49-50.
 - 84 Sir Arthur Pickard-Cambridge, *Dithyramb, Tragedy and Comedy*, #61, 65, and pl. 138. On these vases, see also Alex Seeberg, 'Corinthian Komos Vases', *University of London Institute of Classical Studies Bulletin*, 1971, suppl. 27.
 - 85 A.D. Ure, *JHS*, 1929, vol. 49, pp. 160ff., and *JHS*, vol. 55, pp. 227f. Karl Kilinski II, *AJA*, 1978, vol. 182, pp. 173-91, suggests a Tanagran source for this sixth-century komos group. Not quite so early are three black-figure vases with grotesque figures cited by Maffre, *op. cit.*, pp. 496-504, #23-5, which he dates to 470-440.
 - 86 Thus Seeberg sees a reference to drama in the Corinthian Komos vases, *op. cit.*, p. 80.
 - 87 For a discussion of the question of dramatic performance, see Chapter 6.
 - 88 Cook, *Greek Painted Pottery*, p. 102.
 - 89 Lullies, *op. cit.*, n. 16, #12, 13.
 - 90 M. Harissiadis, *Starinar*, 3rd series, vols 10 and 11, pp. 95-113.
 - 91 R.M. Cook, *BSA*, 1933-4, vol. 34, pp. 95f.
 - 92 A.D. Ure, *JHS*, 1957, vol. 77, pp. 314f.
 - 93 Wolters and Bruns, *op. cit.*, pl. 61, #5-6.

- 94 'Locri Epizephrii', NSc, 1913, Suppl. Locri Epizephyrrii, p. 36 and fig. 45; Nicola Bonacasa, ArchClass, 1958, vol. 10, pp. 50-4. Sparkes discusses another decorated pig askos of Boeotian provenance (op. cit., p. 120 and pl. 1, XVab), a member of a group of eight plastic vases, all Boeotian, four from Thebes or the Kabeirion (see CVA Oxford 2.57); see too Kilinski, op. cit., for another Boeotian pig (Paris, Louvre, CA 577, see CVA, Louvre vol. 17, pp. 27f.).
- 95 Compare the chase scene in Wolters and Bruns, op. cit., pl. 10.
- 96 Bonacasa, op. cit., pp. 51-3.
- 97 The work which passes for his is late and spurious; see A. E. Taylor, A Commentary on Plato's Timaeus, Appendix II, pp. 655-64, who dates it to the first century AD. See also R. Harder, RE, 1937, vol. 6, pt 1, cols 1203-26. Burkert even suggests that Plato's Timaeus might be Philistion, a contemporary of Plato, but this would be somewhat late for our pig, since the other pottery in the tomb also supports a date for the group of 440-2, Walter Burkert, Lore and Science in Ancient Pythagoreanism, p. 84.
- 98 F.M. Cornford, Plato's Cosmology, p. 3.
- 99 Taylor, op. cit., p. 11.
- 100 Ibid., p. 15.
- 101 Cornford, op. cit., p. 2.
- 102 J.D. Beazley, Etruscan Vase Painting, p. 50; A.D. Ure in P.N. Ure, Sixth and Fifth Century Pottery from Rhitsona, p. 74, n. 3; J.M.T. Charlton, AJA, 1951, vol. 55, p. 338; Pelagatti, op. cit., p. 38.

APPENDIX: THE POSITION OF WOMEN IN PYTHAGOREANISM

- 1 Iamb. 'VP' 267.
- 2 Ibid., 39-57.
- 3 By 'Pythagorean woman' I mean a woman who is connected with Pythagoreanism either through family ties or pupil-teacher relationships, or who is named in the 'Catalogue' as a Pythagorean; whether these women were Pythagoreans in the same sense as the male members of the society, or whether they held some other status within the group, is what I am trying to determine.
- 4 DL 8.42; Suid., s.v. 'Pythagoras'; Iamb. 'VP' 126, 265.
- 5 DL 8.42; Suid., s.v. 'Theano'; see too A. von Blumenthal, Glotta, 1928, vol. 17, pp. 152-8.
- 6 DL 8.43.

- 7 Ap. DL 8.42.
- 8 W. Burkert, *Philologus*, 1961, vol. 105, pp. 17ff.
- 9 Photius, 'Bibl.', c. 249, 438b.
- 10 Porph. 'VP' 4 (he says that her writings are extant).
- 11 Porph. 'VP' 4; also known as daughter of Brontinos (Suid., s.v. 'Pythagoras') and as a philosopher (Clem. 'Strom.' iv 19, 121, p. 224).
- 12 Iamb. 'VP' 267 = DK 58A; discussed by Burkert, *Lore and Science in Ancient Pythagoreanism*, p. 105, n. 40; E. Rohde, *RhMus*, 1872, *Collectionis Specimen*.
- 13 Burkert, *op. cit.*, p. 105, n. 40.
- 14 FGrHist 328 T 1.
- 15 Iamb. 'VP' 54-7.
- 16 Iamb. 'VP' 48.
- 17 A. Delatte, *Essai sur la Politique Pythagoricienne*, pp. 39f.; A. Rostagni, *Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica*, 1922, n.s. vol. 2, pp. 180-99; Rohde, *op. cit.*, pp. 26-9; C.J. de Vogel, *Pythagoras and Early Pythagoreanism*, pp. 140-7.
- 18 See *ibid.*, pp. 26f., 135.

Abbreviations

AA	Archäologischer Anzeiger
AAA	Archaiologika Analekta ex Athenon
AC	L'Antiquité Classique
AD	Archaiologikon Deltion
AE	Archaiologika Ephemeris
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology
AJP	American Journal of Philology
AM	Mitteilungen des Kaiserlich Deutschen Archäologischen Institut. Athenische Abteilung
ArchClass	Archeologia Classica
BCH	Bulletin de Correspondence Hellénique
BSA	Annual of the British School at Athens
CAH	The Cambridge Ancient History
CJ	Classical Journal
CP	Classical Philology
CQ	Classical Quarterly
CR	Classical Review
CW	Classical World
GRBS	Greek Roman and Byzantine Studies
HSCP	Harvard Studies in Classical Philology
JDAI	Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts
JHS	Journal of Hellenic Studies
MH	Museum Helveticum
NumChron	Numismatic Chronicle
OCD	The Oxford Classical Dictionary, Oxford, 1st ed, 1949; 2nd edn, 1970.
RE	Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft. Stuttgart and elsewhere, 1894 onwards.
REA	Revue des Études Anciennes
REG	Revue des Études Grecque
RhM	Rheinisches Museum

170 Abbreviations

RFIC	Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione Classica
RSA	Rivista storica dell'Antichità
TAPA	Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association
Teiresias.	A Review and Continuing Bibliography of Boiotian Studies, Montreal.

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